The Nation. April 7, 1979 $1

THE FORD MEMOIRS

# BEHIND THE NIXON PARDON

In his memoirs, *A Time to Heal*, which Harper & Row will publish in late May or early June, former President Gerald R. Ford says that the idea of giving a blanket pardon to Richard M. Nixon was raised before Nixon resigned from the Presidency by Gen. Alexander Haig, who was then the White House chief of staff.

Ford also writes that, but for a misunderstanding, he might have selected Ronald Reagan as his 1976 running mate, that Washington lawyer Edward Bennett Williams, a Democrat, was his choice for head of the Central Intelligence Agency, that Nixon was the one who first proposed Nelson Rockefeller for Vice President, and that he regretted his "cowardice" in allowing Rockefeller to remove himself from Vice Presidential contention. Ford also describes his often prickly relations with Henry Kissinger.

*The Nation* obtained the 655-page typescript before publication. Advance excerpts from the book will appear in *Time* in mid-April and in *The Reader's Digest* thereafter. Although the initial print order has not been decided, the figure is tentatively set at 50,000; it could change, depending upon the public reaction to the serialization.

Ford's account of the Nixon pardon contains significant new detail on the negotiations and considerations that surrounded it. According to Ford's version, the subject was first broached to him by General Haig on August 1, 1974, a week before Nixon resigned. General Haig revealed that the newly transcribed White House tapes were the equivalent of the "smoking gun" and that Ford should prepare himself to become President.

Ford was deeply hurt by Haig's revela-

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'ZOOT SUIT' STORY
Carey McWilliams

GLOBAL MONOPOLY

# MONEY GAMES NATIONS PLAY

WILLIAM K. TABB

The international economy these days is best understood as a complex game of chicken. The name of this global game is international capitalism, and the way it is played hasn't changed all that much over the last couple of centuries. Yet the playing field looks more confused than usual. In the immortal words of Bud Abbott and Lou Costello, "Who's on first?" It indeed is difficult to tell the players without a score card, or what they're doing without a rule book. There are mixed teams of shifting membership. The main players are nations, bankers, corporations, political parties and trade unions. Each will form alliances with other players for temporary goals. To the spectator the action of the playing field is confusing. And, of course, it is really not a game. This year is, after all, the golden anniversary of the 1929 Great Depression. Rivalries like these in the past have resulted in trade wars, not to mention world wars.

The biggest gamesters are trying to win by convincing everybody else that the game is really quite stupid and everyone should stop playing. These sophisticated players are the global corporations. Their game is free trade and, as their weaker competitors complain, they really want to play by their ow.. rules.

In Europe a once-again expansionist Germany plays a new version of the balance-of-power game, calling for a new European money unit and a European Monetary Fund. This is, in effect, an end-run around the United States-controlled International Monetary Fund. Yet the Germans are in turn imposing the I.M.F. rules of the game on their weaker European

*(Continued on Page 369)*

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# How to buy a typewriter.

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Choosing a portable typewriter isn't hard if you know what to look for. This brief guide will help you make the best choice.

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**Try the touch.** A responsive touch makes for better, easier typing. Look for a touch that is prompt, easy and dependable.

When you test a Smith-Corona, for instance, note how smartly the carriage returns. Press a button—zip—the carriage is back where it started.

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**Note the look of the type.** Lines and individual letters should be straight. The impression should be crisp, clean and even. The print quality should not vary over the page.

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**Check the price.** A typewriter that sells for substantially less than others might be substantially less typewriter. If the price difference is minimal, you're probably better off paying a few dollars extra for the typewriter that tests best.

**Ask who makes it.** Smith-Corona makes every single typewriter that bears its name, which is not true of most other brands. So consider the maker's reputation. A company that has a solid reputation will still be around tomorrow and in the future to give your typewriter necessary service and maintenance.

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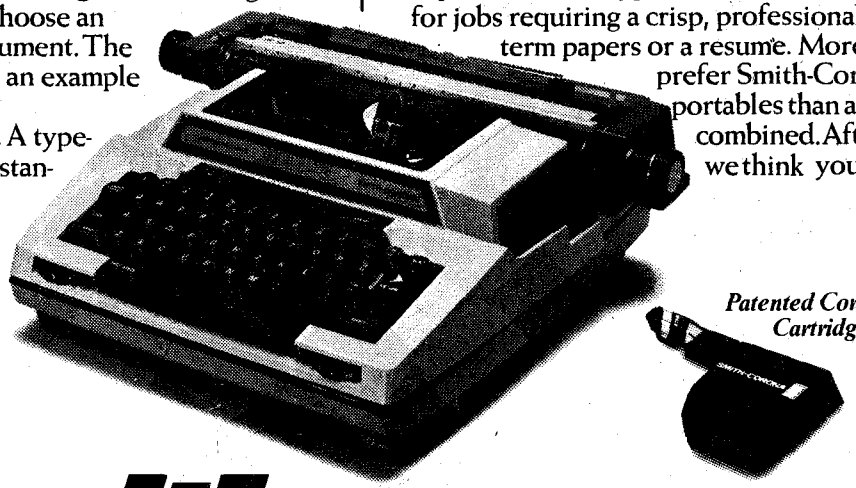

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*The Nation* (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and bi-weekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1979 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10014. Tel.: 212-242-8400. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

*Subscription Price*: One year, $21; two years, $37. Student rate $15 a year. Add $3 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $5 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds.

# EDITORIALS.

## Above the Law

First, the good news. A United States Court of Appeals has just "unequivocally affirm[ed] the principle" that the Attorney General of the United States is not above the law. Now, the bad news. The court doesn't mean it.

The court made plain its disregard for its own rhetoric by overturning a contempt order against Attorney General Griffin Bell that had been issued last June 30 by Federal Judge Thomas P. Griesa. The judge cited the Attorney General for contempt because he had engaged in a "totally unjustified attempt to obstruct" justice by disobeying a court order to turn over to lawyers for the Socialist Workers Party files on eighteen of more than 1,300 "informants" the F.B.I. had employed between 1960 and 1976 to spy on and disrupt the party.

The Socialist Workers Party is a small organization, and it is, as the Government now concedes, law-abiding. By contrast, the Government has been anything but law-abiding in its treatment of the Socialist Workers Party. For forty years, the F.B.I. has attempted to destroy it by tapping its telephones illegally, intercepting its mail, burglarizing its offices, not protecting it against bombings the Bureau knew about in advance and playing "dirty tricks" on it. A good deal of this was exposed during the court proceedings that started in 1973 when the party filed suit against the Government seeking an end to spying and disruption and asking for compensation for the damages it had suffered.

The F.B.I.'s dirtiest work was done by the 1,300 "informants," a euphemism, as we now know, that often masks a much uglier behavior. Exactly what these informants did to the party is not publicly known but Judge Griesa, who has reviewed the eighteen representative files he wants turned over to the party's lawyers, says that they contain "the most important body of evidence in this case, recording in immense detail the activities of the informants, the instructions by the F.B.I. to the informants, and the F.B.I.'s evaluation of informant activities." It is evidence the S.W.P.'s lawyers need to devise an order that will pro-

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tect the party against any continuation of these activities and to demonstrate how much the Government should pay to compensate it for the injuries it suffered. Even if they got the eighteen files, the party's lawyers would operate under a handicap because the great majority of files would still be withheld and because Judge Griesa deferred to the Government's fear that informants would face retaliation, and prohibited the lawyers from discussing the files with their clients.

To overturn Judge Griesa's citation of Attorney General Bell for contempt, the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit—Judges Lumbard, Friendly and Oakes—had to do some pretty fancy footwork. In October 1977, the same court had ruled that Judge Griesa's order to turn over the files was within his powers and, in March 1978, had denied the Government's request for a rehearing. On June 12, 1978, the Supreme Court turned down the Government's effort to get it to review Judge Griesa's order. Then, on June 13, Attorney General Bell threw down the gauntlet and announced that he was assuming personal responsibility for defying Judge Griesa's order and that he wanted a review of the order by the courts.

It was an astonishing assertion, and it should have made not the slightest difference legally because Bell, as the boss of the F.B.I., was already a defendant in the suit. The previous appeals had been brought in his behalf, and he was responsible in any case for complying with the court order. Even so, it worked. Stuck with its own earlier decisions, the United States Court of Appeals ruled on March 19 that Judge Griesa had the power to order Bell to turn over the files but—and here is the fancy stuff—that Griesa had abused his discretion when he cited Bell for contempt for defying that order. "Alternative sanctions" should have been considered, it said.

The effect of all this is that those informant files will probably never be revealed to the Socialist Workers Party's lawyers. As the Court of Appeals had to acknowledge, fashioning alternative sanctions "will not be easy." Leonard Boudin, the party's principal counsel, is pursuing the matter in the courts, and Judge Griesa is now considering the appointment of a magistrate or a special master to review the files and come up with findings on which a decision in the case might be based. Boudin also has made a formal proposal to the Government to settle the case in exchange for an order prohibiting future harassment and is asking for $5 million to compensate the party for the damages it suffered. A Government attorney, riding high now that it appears the files will never be disclosed, scoffed at the $5 million figure. It might have been worth a lot of money to the Government to prevent their disclosure, but that pressure is now off.

It is just a few years, of course, since a President was forced from office for withholding information about illegal wiretapping against another political party. An Attorney General and several other high officials went to prison for their parts in that affair even though the intrusions on the rights of Democrats and other enemies of Richard Nixon were bush league compared to what the F.B.I. did to the Socialist Workers Party. Why then should Griffin Bell be able to get away with defying a Federal court when Nixon et al. could not do so?

Of several possible answers, the most plausible one is the identity of the victims. A *New York Times* editorial on March 24 encapsulated the low level of outrage that is aroused by depredations against the rights of people such as those in the Socialist Workers Party: "We never thought he [the Attorney General] would or should be remanded to the custody of his own Bureau of Prisons for contempt of court, even though we agreed with Federal Judge Thomas Griesa that the files should be turned over." That's just how the Court of Appeals saw it: Even if Judge Griesa is right, the Attorney General shouldn't be held in contempt for defying him. The legal principle that emerges is less than resounding. It goes something like this: An Attorney General is not above the law, except in cases involving groups like the Socialist Workers Party.

ARYEH NEIER

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# When Is a Secret a Secret?

It has become clear that the issue in *The Progressive* H-bomb article case is not a breach of secrecy but secrecy itself. Two weeks ago, we warned of the danger of the Government imposing prior restraint on the basis of testimony by its own "experts." Their testimony was apparently swallowed whole by Judge Robert Warren, who has granted a preliminary injunction against the article's publication. Most independent expert opinion, however, supports the general principle enunciated by Gerald Piel, publisher of *Scientific American*, that "there never was a secret that could keep another country from making a bomb." Or as Albert Einstein put it in 1947: "There is no secret, there is no defense and there is no possibility of control except through the aroused understanding of the peoples of the world." Conceivably, Howard Morland's article could contribute to that "aroused understanding."

No one contests that Morland's article was drawn from nonclassified data but now the Government puts forth the bizarre-seeming doctrine that certain information, even if legally obtained, is "born classified." The Government now apparently claims the power to classify men's thoughts. How prophetic Herman Kahn was when he spoke of "thinking the unthinkable."

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And entertain this proposition: by seizing Morland's article the Government certifies that it is the real stuff. If it had kept its mouth shut, no spy worth his expense account would have given it a glance. After all, how could a mere magazine article be secret—unless the Government said it was? Why, one could almost say that such Government action is "born subversive."

# Profits Explode

In the final three months of 1978, profits were 44 percent higher than they were in the fourth quarter of 1977. They were a mere 26.4 percent above the 1977 mark for the entire year of 1978. Since 1977 was a prosperous year, 1978 evidently must have gladdened the hearts of corporate managers and their stockholders. A few samples illustrate the general situation: fourth-quarter 1978 profits exceeded comparable 1977 earnings in steel by 295 percent, in metals and mining by 265 percent, in aerospace by 50 percent and in paper and forest products by 41 percent.

The Administration response has been meek. Press Secretary Jody Powell confided to reporters that the President was dismayed but disinclined to identify "an exact proper level for profits." Alfred Kahn, the White House's toothless anti-inflation tiger, bravely asserted that "high profits are not bad and do not mean that a company is not in compliance with the guidelines." However, as a comparatively honest officeholder, Kahn could not refrain from adding that the profit explosion "will strengthen the widespread belief that many American businesses are not assuming their full responsibility to fight inflation," especially since, as Kahn conceded, unions have been displaying "real . . . restraint" in settling within the 7 percent wage guideline. Wringing his hands, Mr. Kahn predicted still fatter profits in the first quarter of 1979 and double-digit inflation for several more months.

The response of that outspoken octogenarian George Meany was more colorful. He called the fourth-quarter figures "the grossest demonstration of profit-gouging since the opening days of the Korean War," and warned that in the absence of "effective and enforceable controls on prices and profits, workers cannot be expected to seek wage increases that do not catch up with lost buying power and maintain their families' standard of living." Not for the first time, Meany proved himself a better economist than the Administration experts. As he has persistently maintained, guidelines inequitably restrain wages and, for all practical purposes, allow businessmen to set prices as they please.

It is almost redundant to term the Phase II guidelines a complete failure. Congress is unwilling even to debate wage insurance, the Administration's single gesture toward equity between labor and management. Now approaching their climax, Teamster negotiations are likely to result in a contract substantially beyond guidepost figures or in a strike followed by such a settlement.

As one pokes the debris of Carter economic policy, a few general funereal comments appear in order. The guidelines have facilitated a quiet exercise in the redistribution of income from blue- and white-collar workers whose purchasing power has been shrinking, to stockholders, coupon clippers, bankers and corporate executives. Indeed, redistribution from the poor to the rich has been the most consistent feature of Carter domestic operations. As Russell Baker recently pointed out in his *New York Times* column, the Pentagon is an engine of redistribution at least as powerful as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The military planners shuffle jobs, income and wealth from the declining Northeast and Middle West to the booming South and Far West. Just to rub the point in, the coming year's projected 3 percent hike in Pentagon allocations is accompanied by reductions of approximately $12.5 billion for housing, community development, manpower training, public jobs, food stamps and social security.

Perhaps the President's most outrageous act occurred last November when he signed into law an $18 billion tax reduction, the bulk of whose benefits accrue to affluent individuals and corporations. If Mr. Carter had adhered to his own previous positions and the 1976 Democratic platform, he would have prevented a raid on the Treasury, struck a blow against inflation and kept the funds needed to support social programs.

Could Ford, Reagan or Connally have done more for the corporate community than Jimmy Carter and a Democratic Congress have already done or seem poised shortly to do? The word is out that the White House favors gradual decontrol of energy. Steel trigger prices, special protective arrangements for textiles, TVs and sugar, and import barriers against foreign beef have all contributed to the profit bubble and added their mite to the cost of living.

It is probably too late for the Administration to rectify its mistakes. The economy is gradually slowing down and the long-predicted recession will very likely arrive before Christmas. Double-digit inflation will continue. The stronger unions will extract wage concessions which keep them abreast of prices. The weaker unions will perforce settle for less and suffer sharp decreases in their real earnings. By Labor Day, one guesses, Mr. Carter will be imploring Congress to enact the mandatory controls powers which the Administration continues to deny ever desiring. On Mr. Carter personally, the best comment is the gag attributed to the acerbic Eugene McCarthy. Asked whether he thought Carter would be a one-term President, McCarthy said that he thought that he would make it.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

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# SECOND THOUGHTS

CAREY McWILLIAMS

A year or so back, Luis Valdez, founder-director of El Teatro Campesino—an agitprop group formed during the Delano, Calif., farm workers' strike in 1965—came to see me in New York. It was the first time we had met. Luis had become interested in the dramatic potential of the Sleepy Lagoon murder case and wanted to talk to me about it because I had served as chairman of the defense committee. With the inevitable tape recorder at his side, he interviewed me for several hours. Since the trial had taken place in 1942, there were some big gaps in his knowledge of the facts. For example, he had not been able to find a transcript of the trial; nor had he heard of Alice McGrath, who served as secretary of the committee. It was a good talk. I liked Luis: an authentic, rather earthy person with a robust sense of humor. He knew what he wanted to know, which is a blessed relief in an interview. After he left, I had a feeling, rather tentative I must admit, that something just might come of our talk.

On March 25, *Zoot Suit*, the play Valdez wrote based on the case, opened at the Winter Garden Theatre after a long and successful run in Los Angeles where it is still grossing $90,000 a week. In this odd way a legend was born—some thirty-six years after the event. Just as the case on which the play is based marked the beginning of the so-called Chicano Rebellion, so the play marks a new chapter in Mexican-American experience. As William Overend pointed out in *The Los Angeles Times* (May 9, 1978), the present has finally caught up with the past. Young Chicanos who were not born when the Sleepy Lagoon case was tried have flocked to see the play. Not only has *Zoot Suit* tapped a huge new audience in Los Angeles but it has been received with a general community enthusiasm that would have been unthinkable not so many years ago.

In the spring and summer of 1942 racial tensions were mounting in Los Angeles. The Japanese-Americans had been evacuated. Defense industries were booming. Rationing was an annoyance. Housing was in short supply. Manpower needs were acute. Droves of soldiers and sailors cruised through the streets in taxicabs looking for trouble. A disproportionate number of young Mexican-Americans were being drafted because they did not hold draft-deferred jobs. The likelihood of an explosion was obvious.

In this tense social setting, a free-for-all fight took place at an East Los Angeles gravel pit known as "Sleepy Lagoon," and the next day—August 2, 1942—a young Chicano was found near the scene and was rushed to the General Hospital where he died from injuries he had received. The police promptly rounded up twenty-four young Mexican-Americans, members of one of a number of Chicano youth gangs, and a grand jury indicted them for first-degree murder. After a long trial before a gruesomely biased judge, seventeen were convicted in what was up to that time the largest mass murder trial ever held in the county. Before, after and during the trial the press, in cahoots with the police, kept up a vicious attack on Mexican-American youth gangs; better than any commentary these news stories reflected the temper of the times and the intense bias that existed against Chicanos.

After the verdict had been returned, a defense committee was formed, on which I served as chairman, to finance an appeal. New counsel was retained to prepare and argue the appeal. The costs were substantial; the trial had gone on for several months and the testimony filled 6,000 pages of transcript. But the committee was able to enlist the support of a number of Hollywood figures—Orson Welles, Joseph Cotten, Anthony Quinn—and some middle-class elements in both the Mexican-American and the larger community. On October 4, 1944, the District Court of Appeals (in *People* v. *Zamora*) reversed the convictions "for lack of evidence." The defendants were released after having served nearly two years in San Quentin Prison; it had been impossible to raise bail pending the appeal. The unanimous decision of the appellate court castigated the trial judge for bias, prejudicial remarks and gross misconduct. Later, all charges were dismissed.

Even before the convictions were reversed, the grand jury held open public hearings to inquire into charges of police brutality. I testified at these hearings on October 8, 1942, and warned that further trouble was to be expected if the combined press and police attacks continued. (The testimony is included in Julian Nava's *Viva la Raza*, 1973.) The following June, the "Zoot Suit Riots," which lasted a week or more, erupted in Los Angeles. This, in brief, is the factual background which Valdez has tapped for his fine play. But *Zoot Suit* is more than a play: it is an event of historic importance. The reversal of the convictions in the Sleepy Lagoon case represented the first major victory Mexican-Americans had won in the memory of the living. Slight wonder, then, that the play has drawn such an enthusiastic response from the Hispanic community in Los Angeles.

As a footnote: during the 1943 riots a citizens' emergency meeting was called, which I chaired, to see what might be done to "cool" a dangerous situation. After the meeting I telephoned my friend, Attorney General Robert Kenny, in San Francisco and arranged for him to meet me the next morning in Los Angeles. At this early morning session I entreated him to urge Gov. Earl Warren to appoint an official committee of inquiry and suggested individuals who might be named. Warren accepted Kenny's recommendations and the commission then adopted a draft report I had prepared. Release of the report had the desired effect: if order was not fully restored, a wartime truce was established. □

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# VARIATIONS

CALVIN TRILLIN

To continue the True and Reliable History of the South, Circa 1960-62, With Special Emphasis on the Career of Senator Julian Bond, the first installment of which appeared in the February 24 issue of *The Nation*: When last we saw Bond, then a young man only recently returned to Atlanta from a spot of fancy schooling in the East, he was stewing over the embarrassment of having integrated the public tennis courts of Atlanta only to be beaten in straight sets by Edna Scroggins, an eccentric and exceedingly obese dietitian in her late 50s. Bond's colleagues on *The Atlanta Inquirer*, a weekly newspaper staffed almost entirely by young activists from the Atlanta sit-in movement, were still making fun of his prep-school background and his backhand. Bond spent much of his time trying to devise some way to recoup his reputation in the movement and thus impress Melissa Mae Brumble—a "tan, lissome lovely," as Bond described her many years later, who had managed to integrate the Atlanta railroad station, the Loews theater on Peachtree Street and Georgia State College at Valdosta while Bond was being dispatched historically by the rotund Mrs. Scroggins. Occasionally, he would lose himself in fantasy and, having adopted anachronism as a hobby, would wonder whether the film of his life might star Peter Fonda or Shawn Cassidy.

The mass sit-in movement of Southern black students having somehow confirmed the assumption of white Southerners that trouble could only come from outside agitators, Georgia was buzzing with ugly talk about conspiracies hatched by foreign-looking New Yorkers and a few uppity blacks. One of the few white males in rural Georgia who refrained from such talk, we now know, was Billy Carter of Plains, who, according to the President of the United States, "never made a serious critical remark against Jews or other people in our country." Historians of Sumter County have now decided that the operative word in the President's statement was "serious": when Joe Bob Wheatley mentioned the possibility of "lynching the niggers" and Bubba Benson said it was really "those dirty little hooknoses" who should be lynched, Billy Carter would apparently say something like "Hey, did y'all hear the one about the rabbi, the priest and the watermelon patch?"

Bond had made the tennis courts one of the few integrated islands in an almost totally segregated city, but he was hardly in a position to brag about it: He was losing so consistently to Edna Scroggins that he had begun resorting to attempts to have her gout medicine hidden from her. At *The Inquirer*, he was constantly being beaten on stories by George Washington Thomas Jefferson, his chief rival for the affections of Melissa Mae Brumble. Jefferson had pulled off what was considered a brilliant stroke of revisionist history by conducting street interviews with 100 white residents about the Civil War. Having found that all of them, even those recently transferred to Atlanta from Pittsburgh to work in the Southeast Regional Sales Office, said that their ancestors were either majors or colonels in the Army of the Confederacy, Jefferson devised a startling and completely original theory that explained why the South had lost the war: its army had no enlisted men.

Bond's chance to pull off a journalistic coup seemed to present itself late one night when he was alone at *The Inquirer* office, just before deadline, wondering whether it would be immoral to try putting Edna Scroggins off her game by making fun of her artificial leg. He answered a telephone call from someone in Mississippi who had a story that seemed perfectly suited to *The Inquirer*'s penchant for pointing out inanities in the system of segregation. Fishermen off Moss Point, Miss., the caller said, had discovered a 10-year-old white boy named Jamie Seeley who, two years before, had fallen into the Gulf and had been presumed drowned. The Seeley boy, the caller said, had been rescued by a school of porpoises, which reared him as their own. Re-united with his joyous family, Jamie returned to grade school, only to be expelled a week later under a Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission ruling that admitting a boy who had been in a school of porpoises into a school reserved for whites constituted "race-mixing." The caller even put Jamie on the phone, and the boy recounted his experiences in a voice Bond found absolutely oceanic.

Unable to find the editor, Bond took it upon himself to rip out the front-page headline. The one he put in its place indicated that—out of excitement, perhaps, or out of desire to embellish the story—he misunderstood little Jamie Seeley's name: "'Seal Boy' Nixed by Miss Segs." What became known as the Seal-Boy story turned out to have been a crude hoax, of course. The speech that Bond had found so evocative of the Gulf of Mexico's briny waters turned out to be an accent not at all uncommon in Jackson County, Miss.

After the incident, Bond's colleagues took to varying their customary greeting to him ("Tennis anyone?") with imitations of a seal barking. Bond eventually became a State Senator and a nationally known political figure, but he never lived down the Seal-Boy hoax. When, at the 1968 Democratic National Convention, he asked that his name be withdrawn for consideration as the Vice Presidential nominee, political insiders knew that the real reason was not his youth but fear of a Republican whispering campaign suggesting that Brezhnev might be able to persuade him that MIRV missiles were Canadian geese. George Washington Thomas Jefferson had a long career in the civil rights movement and was eventually named deputy chief regional auditor for the Montana region of the Fair Employment Practices Bureau. Melissa Mae Brumble is now a Datsun dealer in Newport News, Va.

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# ARTICLES.

SOCIALISM COMES OUT

# The D.S.O.C.—Radicals on a Tightrope

HAROLD MEYERSON

There was a moment at the close of the Democratic Party's midterm convention in Memphis last December when Ben Wattenberg of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, secure in the knowledge that nothing the convention had done would make the world any less safe for neoconservatism, paused to speak with Michael Harrington who, along with the United Auto Workers' Douglas Fraser, had been the left's primary spokesman from the convention floor.

"Mike," said Wattenberg, "you guys are on the map now."

It was, of course, just a remark made in passing; it was also a verdict that had not been passed on an American socialist movement in the last forty years.

The "you guys" in question—the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (D.S.O.C.), which Harrington chairs—came to Houston in February to chart a course for the next two years, debate issues, educate one another, renew old friendships and make new ones, and—the distinguishing feature of the convention—to deal with the unaccustomed pleasures, responsibilities and perils of being on the map.

In the six years since the D.S.O.C. was formed out of the antiwar minority of the old Socialist Party, it has grown from a faction of 200—"the defeated remnant of a defeated remnant," Harrington had called them—to an organization of 3,000 whose members include Gloria Steinem, Julian Bond, Victor Gotbaum, Robert Lekachman, Berkeley's Ronald Dellums (the first member of a socialist organization to sit in Congress since 1926), who delivered an extraordinary address to the convention, and the president of a million-member union, William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, who is now also one of the D.S.O.C.'s five vice chairmen.

But 3,000 members scarcely constitute a movement, and no number of luminaries could of themselves restore socialism to a place in the American political spectrum. If the D.S.O.C. is on the map, it is in part the result of a political strategy that has placed it both at the center and on the left of the mainstream left. It is an anomalous but by no means untenable position, and understandably it was the subject of some debate at the Houston convention.

For the D.S.O.C., the reconstruction of an American socialist movement begins with the simple recognition that there is such a thing as American exceptionalism—not, to be sure, as an eternal given of American social reality but most surely as a prevailing, if reversible, political condition. For a variety of reasons, prominent among which is the long record of failures of previous socialist movements, the forces that can provide the impetus for any social democratization in this nation are not themselves socialist. The task of the socialist thus becomes, in Harrington's phrase, to walk a tightrope—to work within the reformist left for radical restructuring, to be in the liberal community but not of it, to participate in working-class struggles for incremental change without losing sight of the socialist vision.

A major implication of this analysis has been to make the Democratic Party, alas, the arena in which the D.S.O.C. engages in electoral politics (and this "alas" is virtually an official position with the committee, a consensus "alas"); and it is within Democratic politics that it has achieved its breakthrough. Its activities began quite modestly with the election of a few members as delegates to the party's 1974 midterm convention, where they conducted an official session on economic planning. In 1976, the D.S.O.C. pulled together a coalition of union, minority group and party reform leaders that used the platform proceedings and a rally at the New York National Convention to promote the cause of planned full employment. This coalition was given a more permanent structure in 1977, when the D.S.O.C. formed the Democratic Agenda. An Agenda-sponsored full-employment conference held in Washington in the autumn of that year brought together the broadest coalition of progressive forces the nation had seen since the 1960s (and in so doing laid the groundwork for Douglas Fraser's Progressive Alliance).

By the 1978 Memphis midterm convention, the Democratic Agenda had expanded its focus from employment to a whole range of progressive causes; it served at the convention as the surrogate for all left opposition to the Carter Administration. Two of the three opposition resolutions that were brought to the floor by petition were Democratic Agenda resolutions (they called for a public energy corporation and for an inflation policy that constrained corporate control of prices), as were all six of the other opposition resolutions that the Administration either compromised on or accepted in order to avoid a fight. Five hundred of the 1,500 delegates present in Memphis (thirty of them from the D.S.O.C.) attended the Agenda's caucus and voted with the Agenda on the convention floor.

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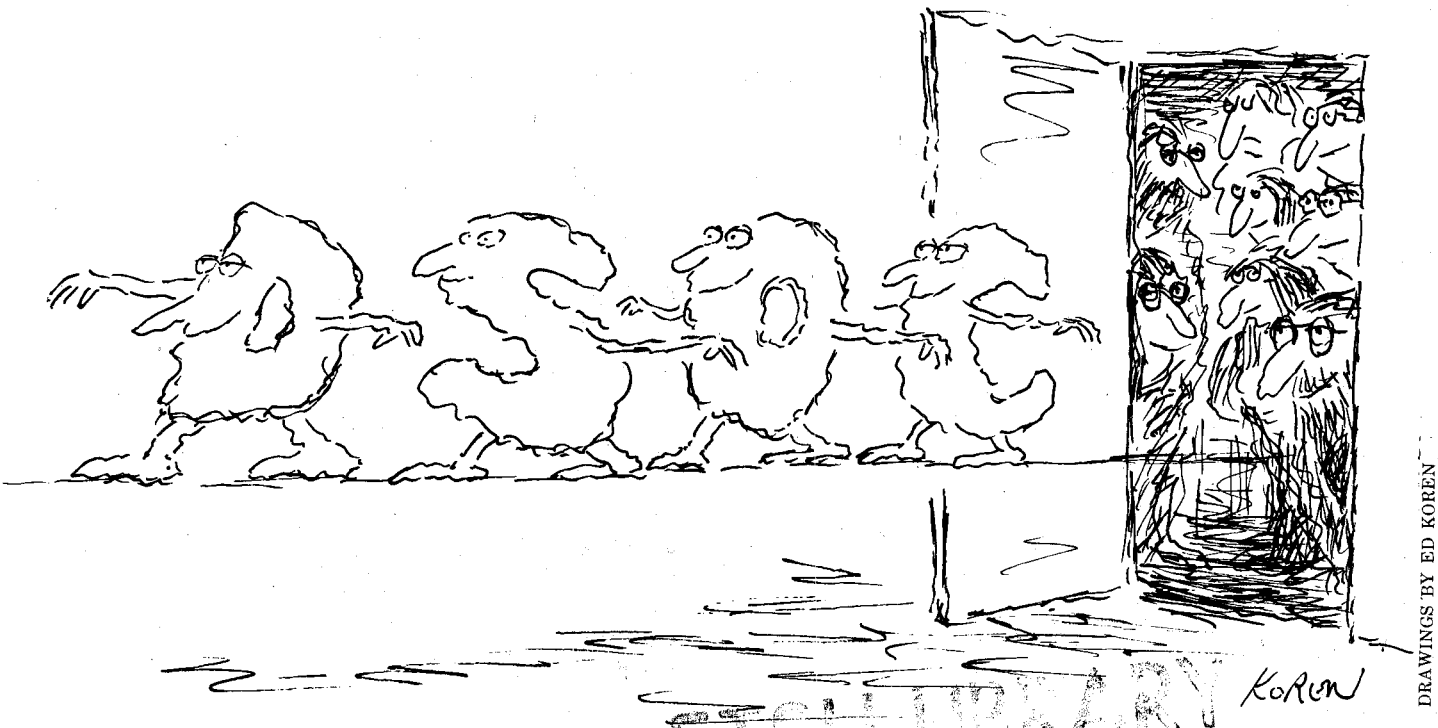
So Harrington was by no means exaggerating when he asserted in his keynote address at Houston that this one D.S.O.C. program has become "the programmatic center of the Democratic left within the Democratic Party." It is a highly unusual role for a socialist organization to play; yet one of the stories of Houston was the breadth of support that was accorded this strategy even as its nuances were debated. The convention manifesto of the D.S.O.C.'s self-styled "left-socialist group," for instance, called upon the committee to articulate more explicitly socialist positions within its coalition work, but also specifically endorsed the continuation of that work. Indeed, the convention ratified without opposition a proposal that could heighten the D.S.O.C.'s status as the left's programmatic center: the transformation of the Democratic Agenda into a multi-city political barnstorming "Program in Search of a President and Congress" campaign that will mobilize the left for the 1980 wars.

For if the Democratic Agenda has not induced an identity crisis within a renewed American socialism—and it has not—it is largely because the mainstream left in which the socialists operate has itself been forced in the last few years to move beyond the confines of traditional welfare-state liberalism. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. position on controls, after all, calls for subjecting the entire economy to a politically determined incomes policy. The issues around which the Democratic Agenda rallied the liberal community at Memphis and elsewhere—planned full employment, public energy, an end to corporate control of markets—may not, as Harrington noted, be very radical for a socialist movement but they do indicate a movement on the part of the left to supplant some portion of corporate power with some level of social control.

The leftward movement of the mainline left has been crucial to the D.S.O.C.'s evolution, enabling it to function within a predominantly liberal community even while intensifying its critique of liberalism. "The liberal vacuum in society historically tends to be filled by radicals," observed historian Jim Chapin, who as a leading D.S.O.C. activist and as chairman of the New York State New Democratic Coalition (the reform Democrats) is no stranger to the varieties of socialist-liberal interaction. "Some become liberals, some wear liberal masks." Yet there was little of either in Houston. "American liberalism still basically adheres to the New Deal strategy of leaving the corporate infrastructure alone," Harrington noted, and it is precisely this strategy, he contended, that has caused the stagflation that has placed liberalism into eclipse.

For it is stagflation, the stranglehold wedlock of recession and inflation, that has pushed the left in the direction of structural change, brought about the conservative resurgence and so rearranged the political landscape that, as Ronald Dellums put it in Houston, "the middle of American politics has vanished." For forty years, that middle had given its support to a limited, begrudging welfare state that propped up purchasing power just enough to head off depressions, as well as to a corporate sector that was developing an increasing immunity to the vagaries of the marketplace.

In the last half-decade, the inflationary pressures built into this tradeoff have become severe. Citing the corporations' ability to raise prices during the 1974 recession and their creation of an international dollar market that is beyond the manipulative capacities of the Federal Reserve, Harrington labeled the liberal position on corporations little short of suicidal: "The structural transformations of the economy," he con-




DRAWINGS BY ED KOREN

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tended, "have subverted both the theory and the practice of the New Deal." In effect, the social contract to which the middle of the spectrum has given its allegiance since the 1930s is up for renegotiation. For the first time in forty years, then, the welfare state is under serious attack. For the first time in forty years, American labor leaders talk of class warfare. For the first time in forty years, a socialist organization can play a significant role on the American left—a development that Chapin placed in dialectical perspective. "We're the antithesis," he said, "to the New Right."

So a capitalist crisis has created the preconditions for socialism's return to the map—the same capitalist crisis that has placed Wattenberg's neoconservative brethren currently in the ascendancy (a causal analysis they doubtless would dispute). If the economic ideas in widest circulation no longer come from centrist economists of the Samuelson school but rather from the monetarist school of Milton Friedman and Arthur Laffer, it is also the case that the economic ideas in widest circulation on the mainstream left come from socialists such as Robert Heilbroner, Robert Lekachman, Leslie Nulty (whose "sectoral" analysis of inflation is ubiquitous throughout the left today) and Lester Thurow. Business leaders increasingly seek the services of sophisticated union busters; labor leaders are beginning to turn again to the radicals. Indeed, a convention high point was the declaration of Bill Holayter, political action director of the Machinists (a declaration that came complete with his phone number), that he would put Machinist locals in touch with D.S.O.C. locals throughout the country.

One sign of the socialists' growing acceptance throughout much of the left is the modest but increasing success of their own campaigns for office. Since the D.S.O.C.'s 1977 Chicago convention, members have been elected to school boards, city councils, state legislatures. Zoltan Ferency of the D.S.O.C. placed second among four candidates in Michigan's Democratic gubernatorial primary last year with 25 percent of the vote. Whether there would be equivalent mass left support for a Harrington or a Dellums campaign in next year's Democratic Presidential primaries is another question. Urged last November by the D.S.O.C. National Board to consider a candidacy in the absence of a serious progressive alternative, Harrington took soundings that led him to conclude his base of support was as yet too narrow. It is, however, a fluid situation, and neither Harrington nor Dellums has ruled out running should more support be forthcoming.

But perhaps the most striking development since the Chicago convention has occurred within the organization itself. Like so many of its predecessors on the American left, the D.S.O.C. was an organization whose national strategy preceded any significant accumulation of members. Even after it began to grow, its national political activities were its primary focus, and members were seldom afforded any opportunity to involve themselves in activities specifically related to the organization: "What do D.S.O.C. members do?" was a question often posed to members, frequently by their fellow members. In the last two years, however, the scope of the committee's activities has greatly expanded, often in some surprising directions. Even members familiar with many aspects of the new growth were struck in Houston by, as one member put it, "the evidence of activity all over the map." It is a remark that can be misconstrued to refer to the D.S.O.C.'s genuinely national presence: there are now more than forty locals in more than thirty states, engaged in pursuits ranging from organizing the unemployed, which they have attempted with some modest success in Philadelphia, to assembling a solar energy coalition that includes both the Building Trades Council and the Clamshell Alliance, a small-scale miracle wrought in Boston.

More significantly, the "activity all over the map" may signal the beginning of the end of socialism's long isolation from a number of potentially radical constituencies. The D.S.O.C. has a growing Hispanic caucus, which conducted a convention rally in the Houston barrio, and which publishes a journal reflecting the diversity of a membership that comes from the Cuban exile community of Miami and the desolation of the South Bronx. There is a Religion and Socialism Committee with wide representation from the Catholic and Protestant left and among liberation theologists; its Houston caucus was addressed by D.S.O.C. member Harvey Cox, professor of theology at the Harvard Divinity School. There is for the first time an active and sizable youth section stirring on supposedly somnolent campuses.

There are continuing failures of outreach, too, the most obvious being the inability to recruit any significant number of blacks. There has been an increase, however, in recruitment from another constituency from which many Democratic socialists and trade unionists were estranged during the 1960s: the survivors of the New Left, for whom totalitarian left regimes of the second and third world no longer serve as models. "Precisely because we have moved into the position of dealing with the center of American politics," says outgoing National Secretary Jack Clark, "we have attracted people to our left."

But it is more than that, for it is also true that the D.S.O.C.'s founders, some of whom waged sectarian wars of varying degrees of justification from the 1930s through the 1960s, have been explicitly committed since the committee's founding to preserving a pluralistic organization. Indeed, the convention overwhelmingly ratified a proposal to investigate the possibility of a merger with the 800-member New American Movement, an organization that emerged from the remnants of the New Left in the early 1970s. (The merger may founder, however, on the unwillingness of some within the N.A.M. to work inside either the Democratic Party or the Socialist International,

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to which the D.S.O.C. gained admittance last year.)

It is the absence of self-righteous sectarian rhetoric from the D.S.O.C.'s internal debates that is so striking to a member of the Veterans of Sectarian Wars at his first look. For the sizable number of 20-year-olds who came to Houston, the D.S.O.C. may be the first national left organization to have flourished during their political lifetimes, but for the survivors of so many burnt-out movements who were present in Houston in far greater numbers, the D.S.O.C. has become a kind of unexpected last chance they are determined not to throw away, least of all in a moment of unyielding purity. In the words of Detroit auto worker Roger Robinson, one of its founding members, the D.S.O.C. is "an organization of people schooled in defeat." Their knowledge of history complements their sense of decency, and this is one final reason why socialism has regained a place, however precarious, on the American map. □

# Nixon

*(Continued From Front Cover)*

tion: "Over the past several months Nixon had repeatedly assured me that he was not involved in Watergate, that the evidence would prove his innocence, that the matter would fade from view." Ford had believed him, but he let Haig explain the President's alternatives.

He could "ride it out" or he could resign, Haig said. He then listed the different ways Nixon might resign and concluded by pointing out that Nixon could agree to leave in return for an agreement that the new President, Ford, would pardon him. Although Ford said it would be improper for him to make any recommendation, he basically agreed with Haig's assessment and adds, "Because of his references to the pardon authority, I did ask Haig about the extent of a President's pardon power."

"It's my understanding from a White House lawyer," Haig replied, "that a President does have authority to grant a pardon even before criminal action has been taken against an individual."

But because Ford had neglected to tell Haig he thought the idea of a resignation conditioned on a pardon was improper, his press aide, Bob Hartmann, suggested that Haig might well have returned to the White House and told President Nixon that he had mentioned the idea and Ford seemed comfortable with it. "Silence implies assent."

Ford then consulted with White House special counsel James St. Clair, who had no advice one way or the other on the matter more than pointing out that he was not the lawyer who had given Haig the opinion on the pardon. Ford also discussed the matter with Jack Marsh, who felt that the mention of a pardon in this context was a "time bomb," and with Bryce Harlow, who had served six Presidents and who agreed that the mere mention of a pardon "could cause a lot of trouble."

As a result of these various conversations, Vice President Ford called Haig and read him a written statement: "I want you to understand that I have no intention of recommending what the President should do about resigning or not resigning and that nothing we talked about yesterday afternoon should be given any consideration in whatever decision the President may wish to make."

Despite what Haig had told him about the "smoking gun" tapes, Ford told a Jackson, Mich., luncheon audience later in the day that the President was not guilty of an impeachable offense. "Had I said otherwise at that moment," he writes, "the whole house of cards might have collapsed."

In justifying the pardon, Ford goes out of his way to assure the reader that "compassion for Nixon as an individual hadn't prompted my decision at all." Rather, he did it because he had "to get the monkey off my back one way or the other."

The precipitating factor in his decision was a series of secret meetings his general counsel, Phil Buchen, held with Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski in the Jefferson Hotel, where they were both staying at the time. Ford attributes Jaworski with providing some "crucial" information—i.e., that Nixon was under investigation in ten separate areas, and that the court process could "take years." Ford cites a memorandum from Jaworski's assistant, Henry S. Ruth Jr., as being especially persuasive. Ruth had written:

> "If you decide to recommend indictment I think it is fair and proper to notify Jack Miller and the White House sufficiently in advance so that pardon action could be taken before the indictment." He went on to say: "One can make a strong argument for leniency and if President Ford is so inclined, I think he ought to do it early rather than late."

Ford decided that court proceedings against Nixon might take six years, that Nixon "would not spend time quietly in San Clemente," and "it would be virtually impossible for me to direct public attention on anything else."

Buchen, Haig and Henry Kissinger agreed with him. Hartmann was not so sure.

Buchen wanted to condition the pardon on Nixon agreeing to settle the question of who would retain custody and control over the tapes and Presidential papers that might be relevant to various Watergate proceedings, but Ford was reluctant to do that.

At one point a plan was considered whereby the Presidential materials would be kept in a vault at a Federal facility near San Clemente, but the vault would require two keys to open it. One would be retained by the General Services Administration, the other by Richard Nixon.

The White House did, however, want Nixon to make a full confession on the occasion of his pardon or, at a minimum, express true contrition. Ford tells of the negotiation with Jack Miller, Nixon's lawyer, over the wording of Nixon's statement. But as Ford reports Miller's response, Nixon was not likely to

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yield. "His few meetings with his client had shown him that the former President's ability to discuss Watergate objectively was almost nonexistent."

The statement they really wanted was never forthcoming. As soon as Ford's emissary arrived in San Clemente, he was confronted with an ultimatum by Ron Zeigler, Nixon's former press secretary. "Let's get one thing straight immediately," Zeigler said. "President Nixon is not issuing any statement whatsoever regarding Watergate, whether Jerry Ford pardons him or not." Zeigler proposed a draft, which was turned down on the ground that "*no* statement would be better than that." They went through three more drafts before they agreed on the statement Nixon finally made, which stopped far short of a full confession.

When Ford aide Benton Becker tried to explain to Nixon that acceptance of a pardon was an admission of guilt, he felt the President wasn't really listening. Instead, Nixon wanted to talk about the Washington Redskins. And when Becker left, Nixon pressed on him some cuff links and a tiepin "out of my own jewelry box."

Ultimately, Ford sums up the philosophy underlying his decision as one he picked up as a student at Yale Law School many years before. "I learned that public policy often took precedence over a rule of law. Although I respected the tenet that no man should be above the law, public policy demanded that I put Nixon—and Watergate—behind us as quickly as possible."

Later, when Ford learned that Nixon's phlebitis had acted up and his health was seriously impaired, he debated whether to pay the ailing former President a visit. "If I made the trip it would remind everybody of Watergate and the pardon. If I didn't, people would say I lacked compassion." Ford went:

> He was stretched out flat on his back. There were tubes in his nose and mouth, and wires led from his arms, chest and legs to machines with orange lights that blinked on and off. His face was ashen, and I thought I had never seen anyone closer to death.

The manuscript made available to *The Nation* includes many references to Henry Kissinger and other personalities who played a major role during the Ford years.

*On Kissinger.* Immediately after being informed by Nixon of his intention to resign, Ford returned to the Executive Office Building and phoned Henry Kissinger to let him know how he felt. "Henry," he said, "I need you. The country needs you. I want you to stay. I'll do everything I can to work with you."

"Sir," Kissinger replied, "it is my job to get along with you and not yours to get along with me."

"We'll get along," Ford said. "I know we'll get along." Referring to Kissinger's joint jobs as Secretary of State and National Security Adviser to the President, Ford said, "I don't want to make any change. I think it's worked out well, so let's keep it that way."

Later Ford did make the change and relieved Kissinger of his responsibilities as National Security Adviser at the same time that he fired James Schlesinger as Secretary of Defense. Shortly thereafter, he reports, Kissinger presented him with a "draft" letter of resignation, which he said Ford could call upon at will if he felt he needed it to quiet dissent from conservatives who objected to Kissinger's role in the firing of Schlesinger.

*On John Connally.* When Ford was informed that Nixon wanted him to replace Agnew, he told the President he had "no ambition to hold office after January 1977." Nixon replied that that was good since his own choice for his running mate in 1976 was John Connally. "He'd be excellent," observed Nixon. Ford says he had "no problem with that."

*On the Decision to Run Again.* Ford was, he tells us, so sincere in his intention not to run again that he thought he would announce it and enhance his credibility in the country and the Congress, as well as keep the promise he had made to his wife, Betty.

Kissinger talked him out of it. "You can't do that. It would be disastrous from a foreign policy point of view. For the next two and a half years foreign governments would know that they were dealing with a lame-duck President. All our initiatives would be dead in the water, and I wouldn't be able to implement your foreign policy. It would probably have the same consequences in dealing with the Congress on domestic issues. You can't reassert the authority of the Presidency if you leave yourself hanging out on a dead limb. You've got to be an affirmative President."

*On David Kennerly, the White House photographer.* Schlesinger was arguing with Kissinger and Ford over the appropriate response to the seizure of the *Mayaguez*. At issue was whether airstrikes against the Cambodians were desirable; Schlesinger was opposed to bombings. Following a lull in the conversation, Ford reports, up spoke the 30-year-old White House photographer, David Kennerly, who had been taking pictures for the last hour.

"Has anyone considered," Kennerly asked, "that this might be the act of a local Cambodian commander who has just taken it into his own hands to stop any ship that comes by?" Nobody, apparently, had considered it, but following several seconds of silence, Ford tells us, the view carried the day. "Massive airstrikes would constitute overkill," Ford decided. "It would be far better to have Navy jets from the *Coral Sea* make surgical strikes against specific targets."

*On Nixon's Character.* Nixon's flaw, according to Ford, was "pride." "A terribly proud man," writes Ford, "he detested weakness in other people. I'd often heard him speak disparagingly of those whom he felt to be soft and expedient. (Curiously, he didn't feel that the press was weak. Reporters, he sensed, were his adversaries. He knew they didn't like him, and he responded with reciprocal disdain.)"

Nixon felt disdain for the Democratic leadership of

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A report from The Edison Electric Institute

# SYMPOSIUM

A Special 16-Page Overview

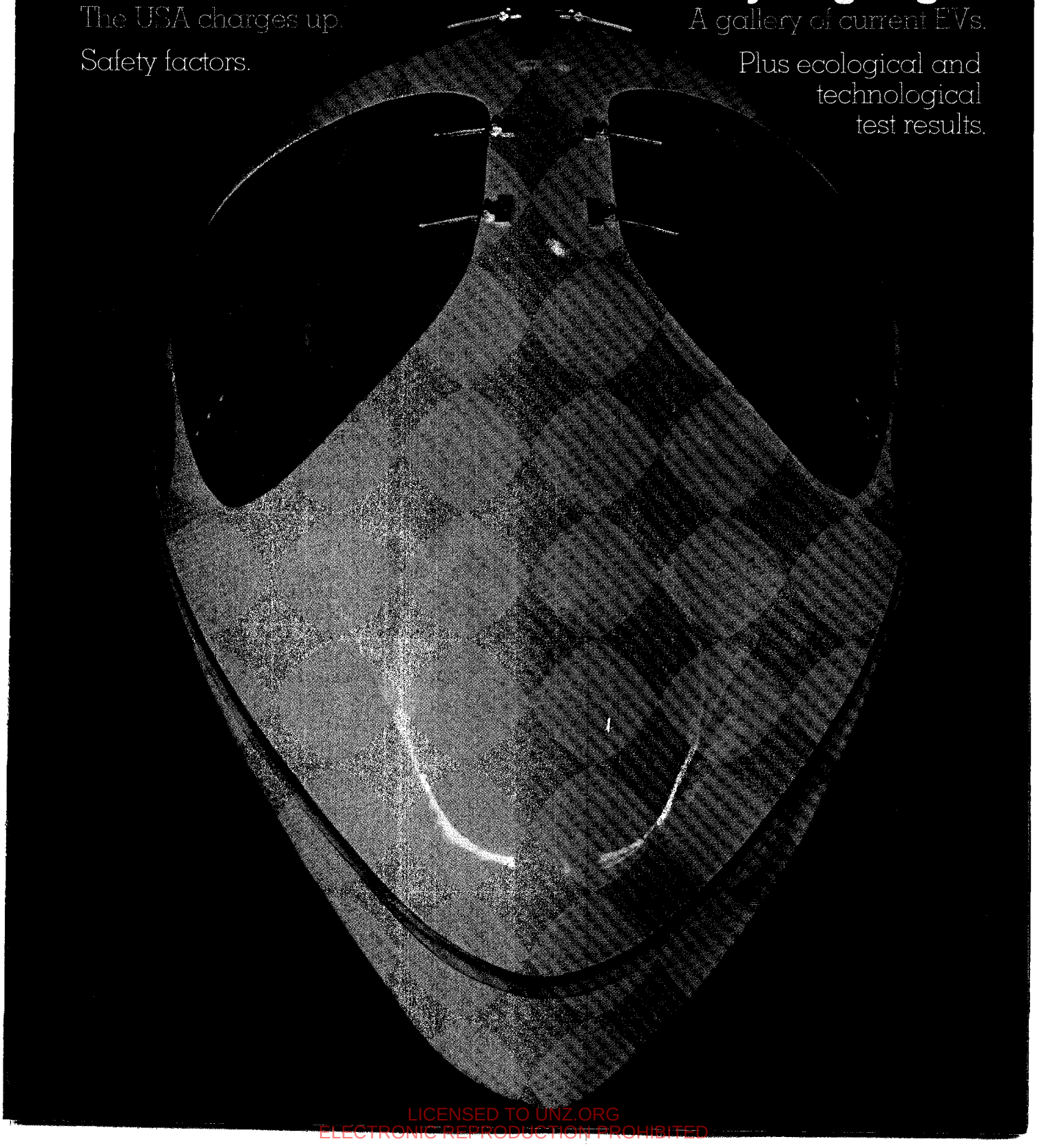
## The electric car: will there be one in your garage?

The USA charges up.

A gallery of current EVs.

Safety factors.

Plus ecological and technological test results.



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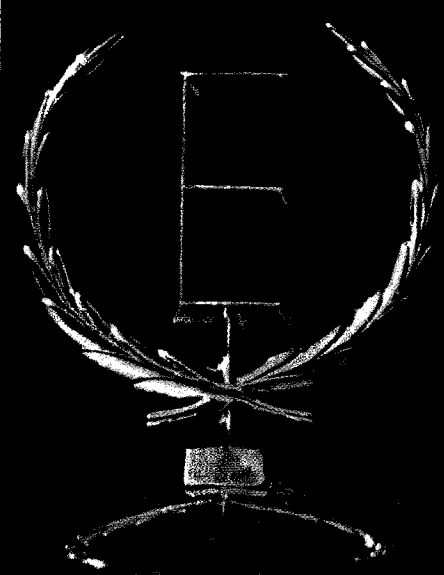
# The electric car: 100 years in the making.

The first road vehicles that traveled by themselves were introduced in the latter part of the 18th century. They were steam-powered, difficult to start and even more difficult to operate. Still, by the mid-1800s, more than 100 American companies were producing steam cars. At the same time, a number of inventors in both Europe and America were exploring a more promising power source: electricity. Frenchman Gaston Plante's development of the storage battery in 1859-'60 made the electric car feasible, and in 1890 William Morrison introduced the first American battery-powered automobile, which was capable of a speed of 14 mph. By the turn of the century, 38 per cent of American cars were powered by electricity. By 1912, the peak year of acceptance, some 30,000 electric cars manufactured by 20 companies were on the road—all of them with an inherent limitation that has persisted to the present: the EVs' restricted range due to the need to recharge the battery.

In search of a better propulsion system, inventors soon turned to the internal combustion engine. In the ensuing years, ICE vehicles overshadowed EVs. Nonetheless, EVs continued to evolve throughout the gas-powered auto era, the electric golf cart and fork lift truck being notable examples of mass application of electric propulsion.

The energy crisis has spurred new EV efforts by both governmental and private groups throughout the world. In 1973, the Electric Vehicle Council, New York, and the International Union of Producers and Distributors of Electrical Energy, Paris, began sponsoring an annual International Electric Vehicle Symposium to review the state of progress of electric vehicle technology and to exchange experience and information on the different factors that influence its development.



The following articles are drawn from papers presented at the Fifth International Electric Vehicle Symposium held in Philadelphia in October, 1978, and represent solely the views of the distinguished international participants. The Edison Electric Institute is making the material available in this form because it is dedicated to offering concerned citizens impartial information on the various issues and technological developments affecting the nation's electricity needs, usage and delivery systems.

Readers interested in obtaining further information on any aspect of electric vehicle development are invited to write or call The Edison Electric Institute, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, (212) 573-8700. After June 1979, EEI will be in new consolidated offices at 1111 19th Street, Washington, DC 20036●

Symposium is edited by Rees Behrendt and designed by George Kurten.

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# Uncle Sam in the driver's seat.

THE UNITED STATES ELECTRIC AND HYBRID VEHICLE PROGRAM IS UNDER WAY. HERE'S WHERE IT STANDS TODAY.

by P.J. Brown, Department of Energy, USA

In September 1976, the United States Congress enacted Public Law 94-413, The Electric and Hybrid Vehicle Research, Development and Demonstration Act of 1976. Congress states in the act that it is clear that the nation's dependence on foreign sources of petroleum must be reduced. Since transportation is the single largest use of petroleum supplies, the introduction of significant numbers of electric and hybrid vehicles into the transportation fleet would reduce the use and dependence on petroleum.

To implement the provisions of the act, the Department of Energy has established an Electric and Hybrid Vehicle Program that has three main thrusts. First, to foster and support research development testing and evaluation of electric and hybrid vehicles systems and their component technology to improve the performance of vehicles on the road. Second, to assess the economic and technical practicability of electric vehicles by undertaking a broadly based, federally supported vehicle demonstration. Finally, to enhance the infant electric and hybrid industry by assisting in financing the commercial production of competitive vehicles.

Congress demonstrated its continued interest in the EHV program with the enactment of Public Law 95-238, The Department of Energy Act of 1978—Civilian Applications. In the provisions of Title VI of this Act, amendments to the original Public Law 94-413 were incorporated to improve the overall program. One of the major amendments concerns the schedule for the acquisition of demonstration vehicles and also increasing the total number of demonstration vehicles from 7,500 to 10,000. It was felt by members of Congress and the DOE that the premature demonstration of current technology would not permit proper response to market and technology developments. The law was therefore amended to allow flexibility in the timing and in the quantities to be procured.

## RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT, TESTING AND EVALUATION

In order to advance the technology of electric and hybrid vehicles, the Department of Energy is conducting an intensive research development, testing and evaluation program. (A summary of DOE's state-of-the-art assessment accompanies this article.)

Two different near-term electric vehicle designs are being developed, and integrated test vehicles are being fabricated by the General Electric Company and the Garrett Corporation. These vehicles are scheduled for completion and to be ready for test by May 1979. Some of the performance objectives of the two designs are displayed in Table I for the near-term electric vehicle.

The DOE is also conducting a program for the development of near-term hybrid vehicles. NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory has been selected by DOE to procure and manage the contracts for the hybrid vehicle program.

In addition to total vehicle design developments, a major effort in battery development for electric and hybrid vehicles is being carried out. Three battery systems have been identified as candidates for R&D effort leading to improvement in the near term: (1) nickel/iron (2) nickel/zinc and (3) lead/acid.

The Argonne National Laboratory (ANL) is the program manager for DOE, and eight subcontractors have been selected for the development efforts: lead/acid—Globe Union, ESB and Eltra; nickel/zinc—Yardney, ERC and Gould; nickel/iron—Westinghouse and Eagle Picher. These American battery companies are also working with a number of foreign battery companies. Each contract culminates with the delivery in 1980 and 1981 of up to 15 full size EV batteries from pilot development lines. A National Battery Test Laboratory is operational at ANL to evaluate, verify and make test comparisons of cells, modules and

TABLE I—NEAR-TERM ELECTRIC VEHICLE OBJECTIVES

| | |
|---|---|
| Min. Passenger Capacity | 4 Adults |
| Max. Curb Weight | Open |
| Min. Urban Range-Kilometers (miles) | 121 (75) |
| Max. Initial Cost (1975 dollars) | 5,000 |
| Min. Life-Kilometers (miles) | 161,000 (100,000) |
| Max. Life Cycle Cost—1975 $/km ($/mile) | 0.09 (0.15) |
| Max. Electric Recharge Energy in Urban Driving—KWh/km (KWh/mile) | 0.32 (0.5) |
| Max. Recharge Time—Hours | 6 |
| Safety Features | Meet Federal Motor Vehicle Safety Standards |
| Min. Unserviced Park Duration—Days | 7 |
| Min. Ambient Temperature Range—C (F) | -29 to +52 (-20 to +125) |
| Min. Top Speed—km/hr (mi/hr) | 97 (60) |
| Min. Acceleration—Seconds for 0-48 km/hr (0-30 mph) | 8 |
| Min. Merging Time—Seconds for 40-89 km/hr (25-55 mph) | 18 |

Some significant breakthroughs have occurred in these projects, such as the lightweight flywheel design by Garrett and the transistor modules by General Electric.

From the paper: The United States Electric and Hybrid Vehicle Program.

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batteries under uniformly applied test conditions.

For the DOE program, NASA's Lewis Research Centers are negotiating contracts covering improved and advanced EHV propulsion systen component technology. These improved technology contracts cover: (1) a.c. motor controllers, (2) mechanically commutated d.c. motors, (3) electronically commutated d.c. motors and (4) energy buffer for regenerative braking. Advanced d.c. motor controllers and electric motor development contracts are also being negotiated.

## DEMONSTRATIONS

In compliance with Public Law 94-413, the DOE issued performance standards on May 30, 1978, for the first demonstration vehicle acquisition. A summary of the standards for personal use and commercial vehicles is given in Table II.

TABLE II SUMMARY–PERFORMANCE STANDARDS ELECTRIC AND HYBRID VEHICLES

| Parameter | Conditions | Personal Use (Note 1) | Commercial (Note 1) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acceleration | 0-50 km/h | 15 sec. | 15 sec. |
| Gradeability | @ 25 km/k | 10% | 10% |
| Gradeability Limit | for 20 sec. | 20% | 20% |
| Forward Speed | for 5 min. | 80 km/h | 70 km/h |
| Range (SAE 227a) | EV | 50 km–C cycle | 50 km–B cycle |
| | HV | 200 km–C cycle | 200 kkm–B cycle |
| Energy Consumption | EV | * | * |
| | Hv (Note 2) | 1.3 MJ/km (non-elec) | 9.8 kj/km kg (non-elec) |
| Battery Recharge Time | from 80% discharge (110 or 220 vac) | 10 hours | |
| Safety | | NHTSA Stds. * + others | |
| Emissions | | FED. Stds. | |
| Recharge Control | | YES | |
| State-of-Charge Meter | | YES | |
| Odometer | | YES | |
| Heater | | Available as Option | |
| Documentation | | YES | |

Notes: 1) SAE J227a Test Procedures apply
2) Non-Electrical Consumption must be 75% of total energy consumed
3) Refer to official publication of standards

To implement the EHV Demonstration Project, the Department of Energy will utilize local demonstration site operators who will provide the requisite maintenance and parts supply support as well as furnishing operator or market demonstration vehicles.

The private sector groups will be either fleet operators, such as public utilities or delivery services, or marketing and service operators, who will sell or lease to individuals or small companies. In addition to the private sector site operators, federal, state and local government fleets will participate in the demonstration program. Over 50 cities have indicated an interest in the program.

After the demonstration operators have purchased their vehicles from the manufacturers, the operational phase of the project will begin, and data will be kept on the functioning of the vehicles.

## INCENTIVES

Congress incorporated provisions for incentives (such as Loan Guaranties) in Public Law 94-413 to encourage private sector involvement in the program. Under its provisions, private loans up to $3 million per project may be guaranteed by the federal government. A ceiling of $60 million has been set for the aggregate amount of guaranties outstanding at any one time. Public Law 95-238 also amended the Loan Guaranties section of the original act by establishing an Electric and Hybrid Vehicle Development Fund in the Treasury of the United States.

Another incentive for small business is the availability of planning grants for firms who lack the funds necessary to prepare and submit proposals.

In addition to the financial incentives, Congress authorized the conduct of studies and research programs on incentives that will encourage greater use of electric and hybrid vehicles. A number of studies have been initiated identifying barriers to the use of EHVs and suggesting corrective incentives.

## STUDIES

Section 13 of Public Law 94-413 states that four specific areas are to be studied:

(1) *Institutional Factors* that may bias the transportation system towards vehicles of particular characteristics. A study was conducted by the Transportation Systems Center of the U.S. Department of Transportation, in August, 1977. A continuing effort is being made by TSC to suggest alternative ways of overcoming the barriers of EHV.

(2) *Long-Range Material Demands and Pollution Effects* stemming from the use of electric and hybrid vehicles. This study was completed by General Research Corporation on August 11, 1977.

(3) *Safety Standards and Regulations* for electric and hybrid vehicles are recommended to DOE by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration of the U.S. Department of Transportation.

(4) *Regenerative Braking* system effectiveness and feasibility for electric automobiles. This study is being conducted for DOE by The Lawrence Livermore Laboratory.

In addition, DOE is working cooperatively with the U.S. Department of Agriculture to determine the agricultural uses of electric vehicles.

The ultimate goal of the federal program is to assist in the commercialization of a viable and competitive electric vehicle industry. With an industry capable of producing electric and hybrid vehicles for personal use and commercial vans at competitive life cycle costs, it is possible that as many as 10 million electric and hybrid vehicles will be part of the transportation fleet in the year 2000. This will result in an annual saving of 100 million barrels of oil a year●

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# State-of-the-Art Assessment Update

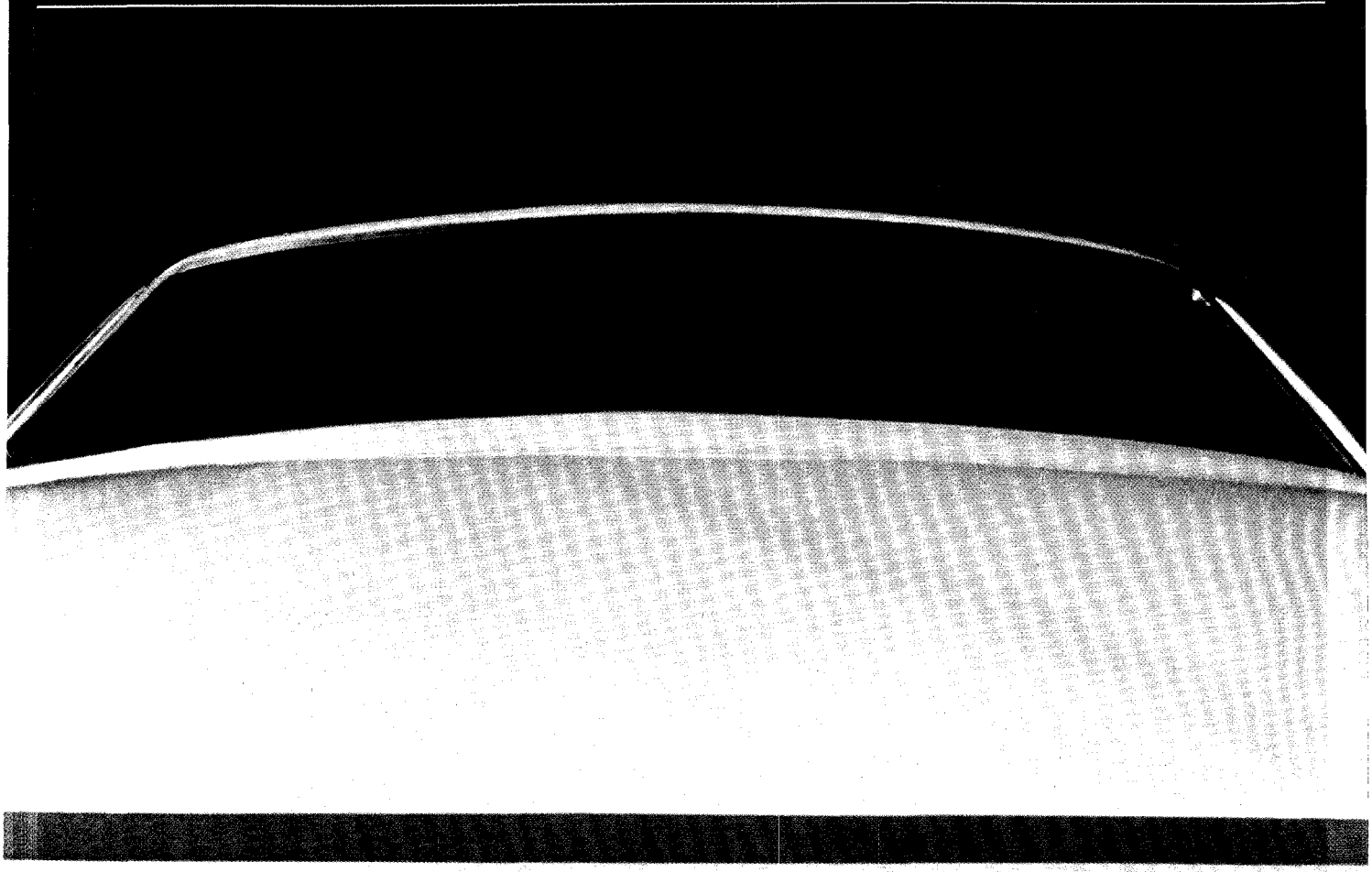
***W.J.*** *Dippold, of the Department of Energy, summarizes the results of 1978 electric vehicle state-of-the-art assessment reports:*

It is clear from the data of the various reports that vehicles with current technology in batteries, controllers and motors provide more energy efficiency with four-speed manual transmissions than vehicles without transmissions or those using automatic transmissions. The data show this to be true of both personal and commercial vehicles.

Because of the large variation in motor characteristics, particularly torque, it is difficult to assess the value of a transmission on time to accelerate to moderate speeds. The analysis is equally difficult on gradeability at low speeds above 5 kilometers per hour. The original SOAA report shows that the gradeability limit at two to three kilometers per hour of a current SOA vehicle is measurably improved by a four-speed manual transmission. Without a transmission, it is clearly observable during testing that the battery current demand on starting is much higher. This is particularly true of vehicles that are geared to have top speeds greater than 70 kilometers per hour and that are not equipped with a maximum current limit controller. The data show the gradeability of vehicles with four-speed transmissions to be better than the gradeability of vehicles without transmissions at vehicle speeds of 50 kilometers per hour and greater.

While these few vehicles provide insufficient data to draw firm conclusions either presently or long-term, the data do indicate that there are some distinct advantages to a four-speed transmission in current technology electric vehicles. The effects on energy efficiency (range improvement), reduction of power demands on the battery at start-up and improvements in gradeability at moving traffic speeds would appear to offset the inconvenience of having to shift while driving. Opportunities are clearly visible for improvements in controller-motor designs to limit the power demands on the battery for routine start-up of a vehicle without a transmission and to improve the torque characteristics (i.e., gradeability) at the higher speed end. Alternatively, transmission design opportunities continue to be visible with the objective of maintaining the apparent advantages of the four-speed transmission but requiring no overt action on the part of the driver to change gears●

From the paper: Electric Vehicle State-of-the-Art Assessment Update.



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# The smog fighters are coming.

## AN L.A. STUDY SHOWS EVS WOULD SHARPLY REDUCE TODAY'S ICE AIR POLLUTION.

—by D.L. Harbaugh, Southern California Edison Co., USA

The air pollution of an electric vehicle can be compared to that of a gasoline vehicle in two ways:

(1) total pollutants emitted into the atmosphere due to operation of each type vehicle on a per mile basis; and

(2) the effect of these emissions in terms of ground level concentration.

The emitted pollutants include not only those from the vehicle but also emission from the power plant (to generate the electricity required to charge the EV battery) and the oil refinery (for manufacture of both the gasoline and power plant fuel oil). The emissions for the electric vehicle are calculated based on an oil-fired generating plant because:

(1) these plants generate the majority of Southern California Edison power in the Los Angeles area; and

(2) it simplifies the problem of power and pollutants mix analysis (i.e., from hydro, nuclear, etc.).

The time frame used for this analysis was 1980 because:

(1) it is sufficiently near-term to use current SCE data; and

(2) a number of the references from which data have been extracted have used 1980 as the study year.

SCE agrees with the original ERDA estimate for EV energy consumption of 0.8 kwhrs/mile, and this estimate has been used to calculate the total pollutants per mile in the pollution table. This table is a "worst case" example, and it still indicates that, except for SO2, the electric vehicle will be clearly superior to the gasoline vehicle in terms of emitted pollutants.

In addition, the following factors should also be considered in the comparison:

(1) To the extent that further emission reductions are required and can be made practicable at generating stations, it will further reduce emission levels. While installation and maintenance of control systems at refineries and power plants require a substantial investment, this may ultimately be a more practical solution than the installation and maintenance of millions of miniaturized control systems on the automobile population or disruptive traffic control measures.

(2) In practice, the effectiveness of existing automobile pollution control systems has been shown to deteriorate because of age and inadequate maintenance. In contrast, power plant emission controls are continuously maintained.

(3) Most importantly, because the pollutants are removed from the sites of concentrated local pollution (i.e., downtown freeways) and are instead expelled from high smokestacks, the contribution to the breathable ground level pollution is sharply reduced, in most cases by over 99 per cent.

Further, in populated areas that are located directly adjacent to power plant exhaust stacks, pollutant levels within the ground plane of the emission plume should contribute but a small fraction of the concentations that define air quality standards to protect health and welfare, even under adverse conditions.

The end effect of electric vehicle use in the Los Angeles Basin will be to reduce the air pollution caused by automobile travel, because:

(1) Electric vehicles introduce significantly less total and individual pollutants on a per mile basis than gasoline-powered vehicles (except for SO2 emissions, which are only slightly greater on a per mile basis in the worst-case analysis). It should also significantly reduce formation of oxidant, a secondary pollutant.

(2) To the extent that power plant emission reductions are required, and can practicably be made, the comparison is even more favorable for the EV.

(3) To the extent that battery-charging energy is supplied by nuclear hydroelectric and out-of-state coal-fired plants, the comparison is also more favorable for EVs.

(4) Electric vehicles will reduce the automobile contribution to ground-level pollutant concentrations by over 90 per cent, because the EV emission source will be from elevated power plant exhaust stacks.

(5) Shifting the automobile emissions point from the individual tail pipe to a power plant stack offers continual, superior opportunities for control of automotive air pollution emissions●

TOTAL POLLUTION CONTRIBUTION

| | HC | CO | NO2 | SO2 | Part. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Electric Veh. | | | | | |
| Vehicle | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Power Plant (a) | 128 | 024 | 696 | 752 | 080 |
| Refinery (b) | 007 | 002 | 061 | 198 | 010 |
| Total (c) | 135 | 026 | 757 | 950 | 090 |
| Gasoline Veh. | | | | | |
| Vehicle | 41 (d) | 9.00 (d) | 1.50 (d) | 0.13 (f) | 0.12 (g) |
| Power Plant | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Refinery (e) | 99 | 0.01 | 0.40 | 0.71 | 0.10 |
| Total (c) | 1.40 | 9.01 | 1.90 | 84 | 0.22 |

From the paper: A Comparison of the Overall Air Pollution Contributions of Electric and Gasoline-Powered Vehicles in the Los Angeles Area.

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# Making the electric car safe.

CONVENTIONAL CARS HAVE HAD 80 YEARS TO OVERCOME THEIR HAZARDS. TO COMPETE, EVS MUST ENGINEER IN SAFETY FROM THE START.

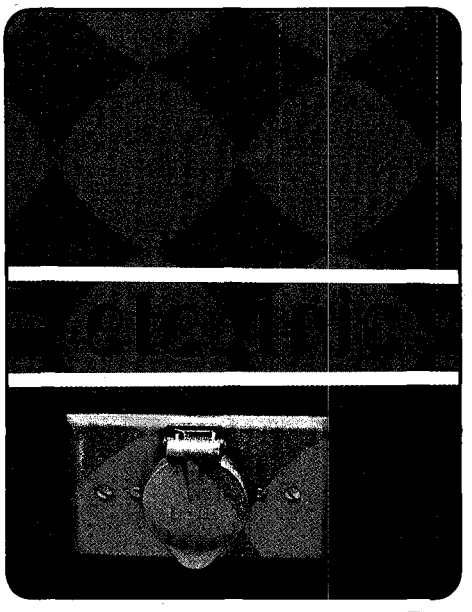
—by G. G. Harding, Lucas Batteries Ltd., United Kingdom

As the development of battery electric vehicles with good road performance leads to greater numbers of such vehicles being operated alongside their conventional counterparts, unless EVs are seen to be at least as safe as ordinary cars, their further adoption could be impeded by the attitudes of potential operators and/or legislators.

Because battery-powered vehicles with high performance have only been introduced within the last decade, equal safety standards will need to be achieved in a very short time in comparison with conventional vehicles, which have had 80 years to achieve present levels of safety. To this end, members of the Lucas electric vehicle development team and others associated with them have given serious attention to safety aspects of EV designs.

The Lucas electric vehicle program has now run for over 10 years, and during this time the 65 vehicles that have been built have accumulated over a quarter of a million miles under operational conditions, using lightweight lead-acid batteries. Throughout this development period, it proved very difficult indeed to forecast some of the safety problems, even those that, subsequent to their discovery, appear to have been impossible to overlook. An example of this was the first battery explosion in a Lucas vehicle. The effect of explosions in single cells is well known and produces little damage, but an explosion due to ignition of an explosive gas mixture that has accumulated in the space above the battery as well as in the cells is a very different phenomenon. This occurred during a Sunday night in the very hot summer of 1976 due to an overcharging situation in a garage which had not been approved by Lucas.

The explosion very nearly demolished the vehicle. As a safeguard against another similar incident, all Lucas vehicles were withdrawn from service, and a thorough investigation was begun to determine the factors leading to various situations where explosions can occur and all possible means of averting such conditions.



We examined such factors as the speed of gas dispersion under various conditions and the rate at which gas is generated when regenerative braking is used with a battery near the fully charged state. Tests clearly pointed to the need for very thorough ventilation of the battery compartment. It was therefore necessary to build a charger and associated venting system to meet strict requirements in addition to the current/time schedule for charging in the minimum time with minimum overcharge.

In order to prevent a propagated explosion, as opposed to single cell explosions, the gaseous mixture in the battery compartment must be kept below the lower explosive limit (L.E.L.) under all operating conditions. The L.E.L. for hydrogen in air is 4% by volume, but it is understood that, once initiated, an explosion can be propagated at levels considerably below this, and Lucas is aiming for a hydrogen level within the battery compartment of one-quarter of the L.E.L. to prevent propagation from one cell to another. To ensure that this limit is not exceeded the system must be designed so that the charger limits the gassing current to a pre-set level, and the battery compartment is adequately ventilated.

Natural ventilation of the battery compartment of the latest Lucas vehicles in service has been maximized by leaving the battery compartment open around the top. The interconnections between individual battery units are sealed to protect them from the effects of moisture and dirt. However, with the battery suspended only a very short distance below the vehicle floor, it has been found that such a system still requires some forced ventilation over the tops of the batteries during charging, and this is achieved by tangential a.c. mains fans.

An explosion can only occur, of course, if there is both an explosive mixture and a suitable ignition source, which may be as small as a low voltage spark. It is therefore essential that the positioning of contactors, d.c. motors or any other spark-producing equipment in or near the battery compartment should be avoided.

## HANDLING BATTERY PACKS

In our present van models, the battery is contained in a pannier, which is positioned under the floor of the vehicle. In addition to facilitating the removal and replacement of the battery, by lowering and raising it vertically, such an arrangement has the advan-

From the paper: Some Aspects of Electric Vehicle Safety

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tage that the body of the vehicle can be completely sealed from the battery compartment.

The battery pannier, in addition to supporting the weight of the battery, must also protect it from road debris which may be thrown up by the wheels. In addition, an air space is provided around the battery units to avoid overheating during prolonged heavy charge or discharge periods. The use of stainless steel (AISI Type 316) provides the required strength and impact resistance to withstand road usage and also overcomes corrosion problems associated with accidental acid spillage. Panniers made from GRP, using fire retardant resins and metal reinforcement as necessary, and from other plastics, are being investigated, since they offer the additional built-in safety feature of electrical insulation.

## SAFE WORKING WITH HIGH VOLTAGE

High performance electric vehicles, by definition, require motors, controllers and batteries that can deliver relatively high levels of power. Mainly for reasons of cost, it is necessary to keep currents as low as possible, and therefore higher system voltages are likely to be required than have generally been used hitherto on battery vehicles. The present Lucas 1-ton payload delivery vehicles use 50 hp (37 kW) traction motors with a nominal system voltage of 216 V. This comparatively high d.c. voltage clearly needs to be treated with respect, and thorough precautions need to be taken to protect personnel from electric shock, whether they are using the vehicle, servicing it or attending to the batteries.

In order to minimize the danger of electric shocks on the vehicle itself, and at the same time reduce the chances of accidental short circuits through insulation failure, the high voltage power system is designed to be totally isolated electrically from the vehicle body, so that accidental contact with a "live" potential will not complete a circuit to earth.

The main battery connections are linked to the controller via double pole isolating contactors, which are normally in the open position except when the controller is switched on.

The ability to remove the battery complete in its pannier also enables the high voltage connections to the vehicle to be broken automatically by means of a plug and socket without the need for any manual removal of connecting leads within the vehicle.

## ELECTRONIC CONTROL SYSTEMS

In an electric vehicle incorporating a thyristor as its main current control element, the motor power is controlled by rapid switching of the motor current by a solid state device. This provides very smooth control of the traction motor and also enables the full performance of the vehicle to be maintained until the battery is almost fully discharged.

In the event of a malfunction, however, the current switch can remain in the "on" position, so that the driver loses control of the motor current. With a series motor, by its very nature this means a high fault torque or motor power, until interrupted by the system fuse. Normally this takes place almost instantaneously, and there is no danger to the vehicle occupants or bystanders, but in certain circumstances the fuse may take some time to blow, resulting in a temporary effect somewhat similar to a throttle sticking on an ICE vehicle. All our latest vehicles are fitted with a cut-out button, designed to enable a driver to isolate the battery from the drive system in an emergency.

## FUSES AND CIRCUIT BREAKERS

Fuses are essentially non-ideal circuit elements, taking a finite time to blow, depending on the degree of overload. In a series system, at high vehicle speeds, the fault current is limited by the series motor characteristic, and blowing times can be relatively long. The rating of fuse necessary to protect the vehicle against the consequences of control failure may be lower than that which would otherwise be chosen for the application, leading to a somewhat reduced life. It has also been established that even if a fuse is operated within its rating, the combination of vibration and thermal cycling experienced in the normal duty cycle of a vehicle will eventually cause the failure of a present generation semiconductor fuse through mechanical fatigue of the fuse elements. Because of these shortcomings, we are investigating the possiblity of using a magnetic circuit breaker as the primary circuit protection element.

## REGENERATIVE BRAKING

Regenerative braking is fitted to Lucas vehicles for three main reasons: first, to reduce wear of the normal friction braking system, thereby reducing down time and maintenance costs; second, to reduce the extent to which a vehicle's battery is discharged by any given duty cycle, since this may increase battery life; and third, to improve the feel or "driveability" of the vehicle.

The design of the regenerative braking system is such that the first element of regenerative braking comes into operation when the accelerator pedal is released. This roughly equates to "engine braking" in an ICE vehicle. The first movement of the brake pedal brings into operation a higher level of regenerative braking, which at its maximum gives rise to a retardation of the order of 20%g. On the latest vehicles, provided the brake pedal remains depressed, regenerative braking remains in operation until the vehicle is virtually at rest.

From time to time it has been suggested that relatively high levels of regenerative braking can only be applied with safety to front-wheel-drive vehicles, and that on ice-covered roads regenerative braking of the level used on Lucas vehicles applied to the rear wheels only might induce dangerous wheel skids. International braking regulations also specify that the service braking action should be on all wheels and that an increasing pedal movement should be accompanied by an increase in vehicle retardation, and vice versa. The particular features of regenerative braking may not be entirely compatible with these regulatory requirements and may necessitate further discussion.

Lucas has conducted a number of tests in an endeavor to establish whether rear wheel skids

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can be induced under adverse conditions by regenerative braking. Although it is not claimed that such testing has been exhaustive, so far it has not been possible to induce rear wheel skids by this means.

PARKING BRAKES

Unlike ICE vehicles, electric vehicles of the type not fitted with an automatic gearbox have no means other than the parking brake for locking the wheels when parked. In hilly terrains, some operators of Lucas vehicles have requested an additional means of locking the wheels. This is because parking brake ratchets are known to fail from time to time. It is desirable to be able to meet this requirement, and we are currently working on alternative solutions.

WATER WADE TESTS

Lucas does not intend ever to be a company that manufactures vehicles. In order to ensure that the complete vehicle into which the Lucas drive system is fitted is completely satisfactory, it is necessary for it to be developed and tested by its manufacturer. Lucas considers itself very fortunate to be working closely with GM's UK subsidiary, Vauxhall Motors, and sharing a joint development program with them. In addition to performance and handling, the program has included shallow water wade tests, which initially showed that water entered the control system housing, the motor, the main battery connection and the battery compartment itself. Gradually these problems have been overcome, and it is now possible to drive vehicles at 25 mph (40kph) in water 4 inches (100mm) deep without problems even under these very severe conditions.

SILENCE

One of the attributes of electric vehicles frequently alleged by many people to be both an environmental advantage and at the same time also a hazard is their relative silence. It is often suggested that, being silent, they must present additional danger to pedestrians, particularly to old people.

So far we have not experienced this problem in service and believe that this may be partly due to the fact that in cities most vehicles are preceded by a vehicle and also followed by another. It is almost impossible to stand on the sidewalk and pick out which of the three fairly closely spaced vehicles is the quiet electric. The relative silence of the many thousands of electric milk delivery vehicles operating in the UK is not known to have caused any significant safety problems.

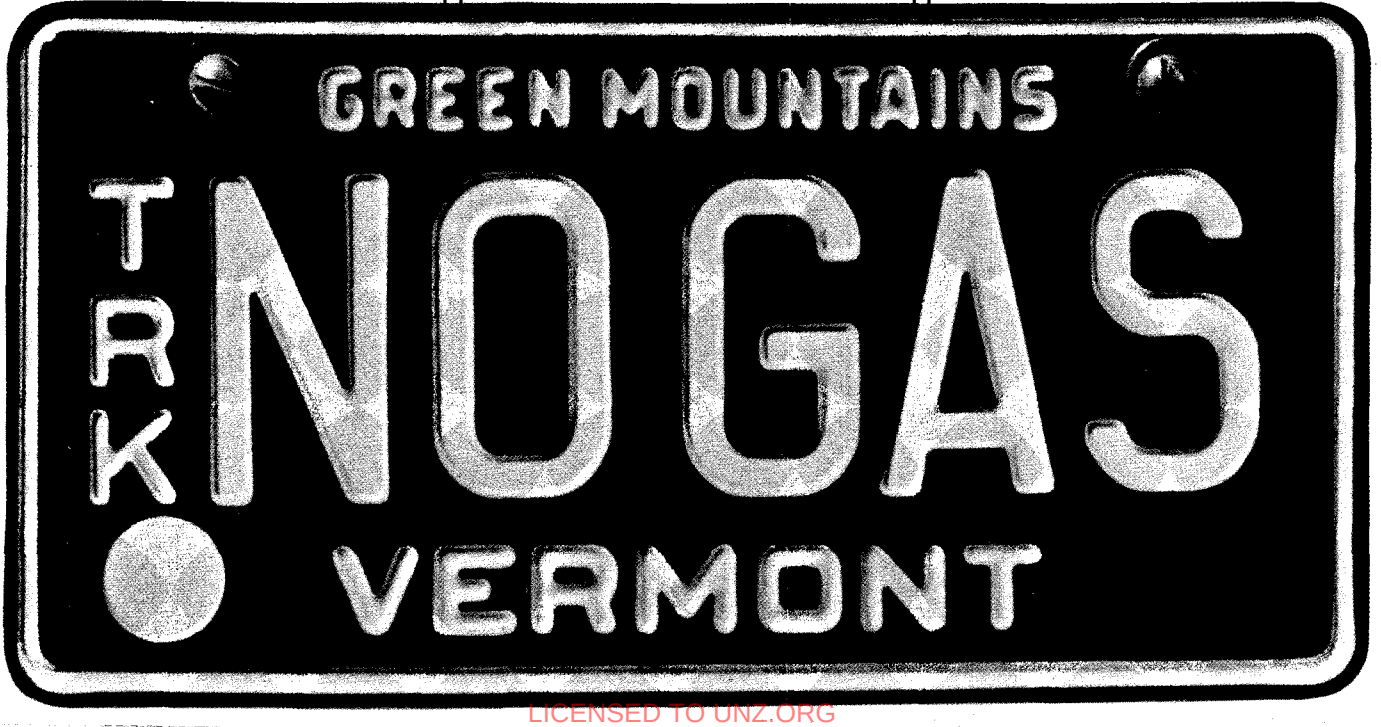
HEATING

It is now almost universally accepted that the most appropriate means of heating an electric vehicle is by one of the several types of proprietary combustion heaters currently available. These are manufactured as either air-or-water-heaters, and alternative types will operate on gasoline, kerosene or bottled gas. Kerosene for heating is safer under crash conditions than gasoline, and to add to the safety, the fuel tank is filled with aluminum mesh and is positioned in a relatively safe situation behind the front axle beam.

DRIVER CONTROLS

A feature included on every Lucas vehicle has been the automatic selection of a "no-drive" situation if the equivalent of the ignition key is turned to the "off" position. This is to ensure that when the driver switches on again movement of the accelerator pedal will not cause the vehicle to move at all, let alone in an unexpected direction. In order to move the vehicle at all after turning the key, the driver must make a positive selection of the direction in which he wishes to move before the accelerator becomes operative. In addition, Lucas vehicles incorporate a speed limiting device whenever reverse is selected, but the device does not limit the torque available.

Lucas believes that there should be free exchange of information on all aspects of safety among companies involved in electric vehicle development, to ensure that these vehicles become as safe as possible as soon as possible●

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# The shape of the future.

THREE PLUG-IN PROTOTYPES FROM SOME 100 SHOWN AT THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL ELECTRIC VEHICLE SYMPOSIUM.

## The Centennial Electric

General Electric Research and Development Center
P.O. Box 8, Schenectady, N.Y. 12301

Named in honor of General Electric's 100th birthday, this four-passenger, front-wheel drive subcompact was designed to achieve top performance from off-the-shelf components and commercially available battery systems. It was built to GE specifications by Triad Services, Inc., of Dearborn, Michigan, and is powered by 18 six-volt, lead-acid batteries from Globe-Union, Inc.

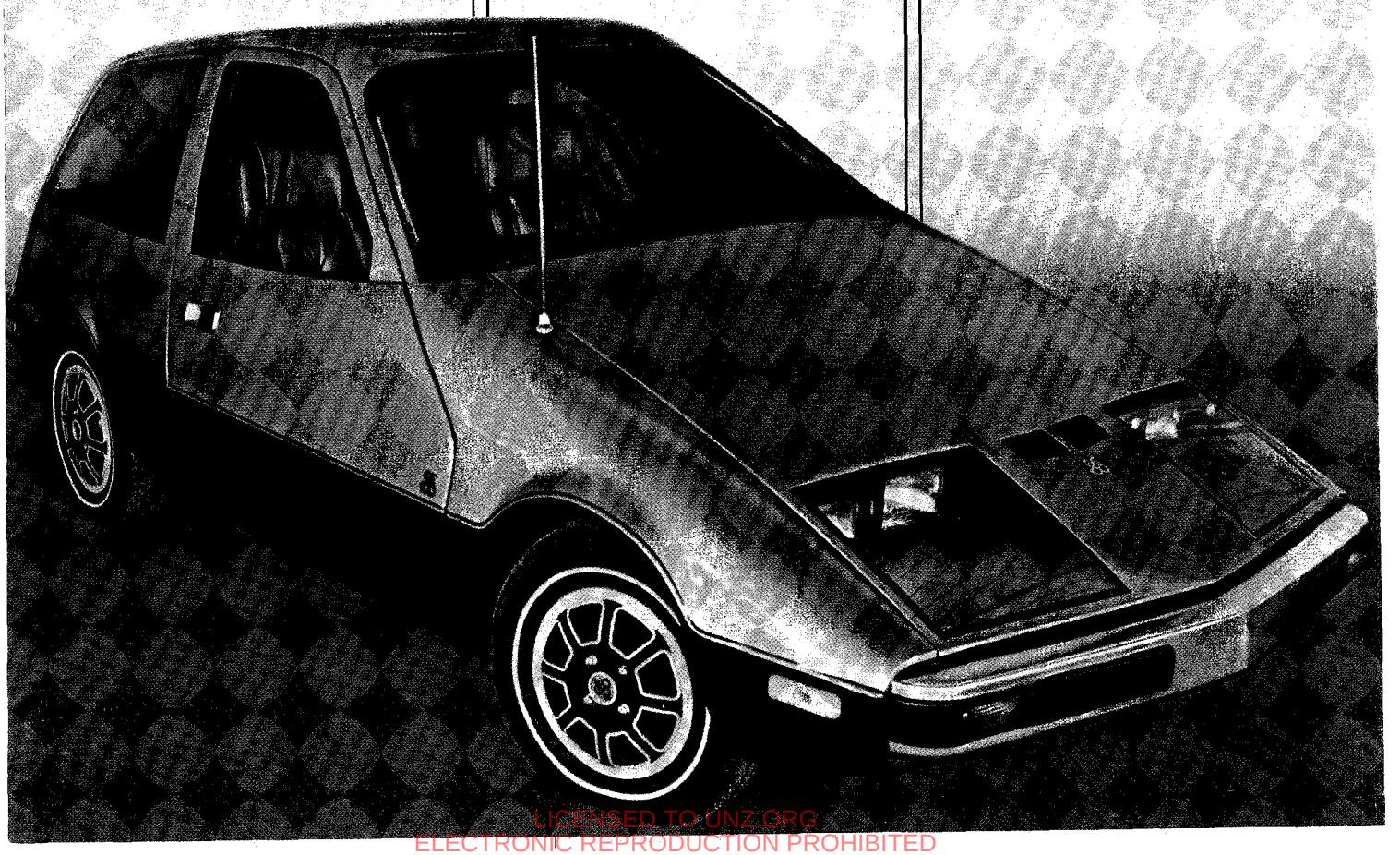
The vehicle has a range of 75 miles at a constant 40 miles per hour, a cruising speed of 55 mph and a passing speed of up to 60 mph. In stop-and-go urban driving, its range is about 45 miles between charges. It can accelerate from zero to 30 mph in nine seconds.

The Centennial Electric weighs 3,250 pounds, including batteries. It stands 53.3 inches high, is 160 inches long, 66.1 inches wide and has a wheelbase of 92 inches. Ground clearance is six inches. It has a low center-of-gravity, because 1,225 pounds of batteries are slung on a movable trolley beneath the vehicle and run nearly its full length. It has no grill, because there is no radiator to cool.

To keep the car low to reduce air drag, as well as to permit easier entry and exiting, the back seats face to the rear and are entered through a hatchback-type rear door. Because the front doors open out and forward on hinged links, they can be opened fully even when the car is parked within 14 inches of an obstacle.

Auxiliary equipment includes a gasoline-type heater, AM/FM/CB radio and electric windshield wipers and defrosters. Fans, headlights and other accessories operate off a standard 12-volt battery, which is connected to an on-board battery charger.

Although the car is not for sale, it was designed to sell for about $6,000 if 100,000 vehicles were manufactured annually in one plant●



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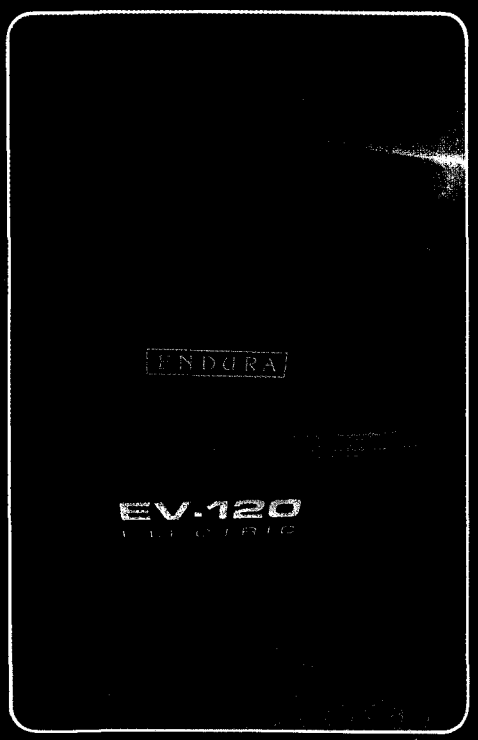
Globe-Union, Inc.
5757 Green Bay Avenue,
P.O. Box 591
Milwaukee, Wis. 53201




This four-passenger test car, designed by the world's largest manufacturer of automotive replacement batteries, had its preliminary performance testing during a harsh Milwaukee winter. After an overnight charge, the Endura was driven on suburban streets at city speeds of 30-35 mph for over 100 miles. It also reached speeds in excess of 60 mph under expressway conditions.

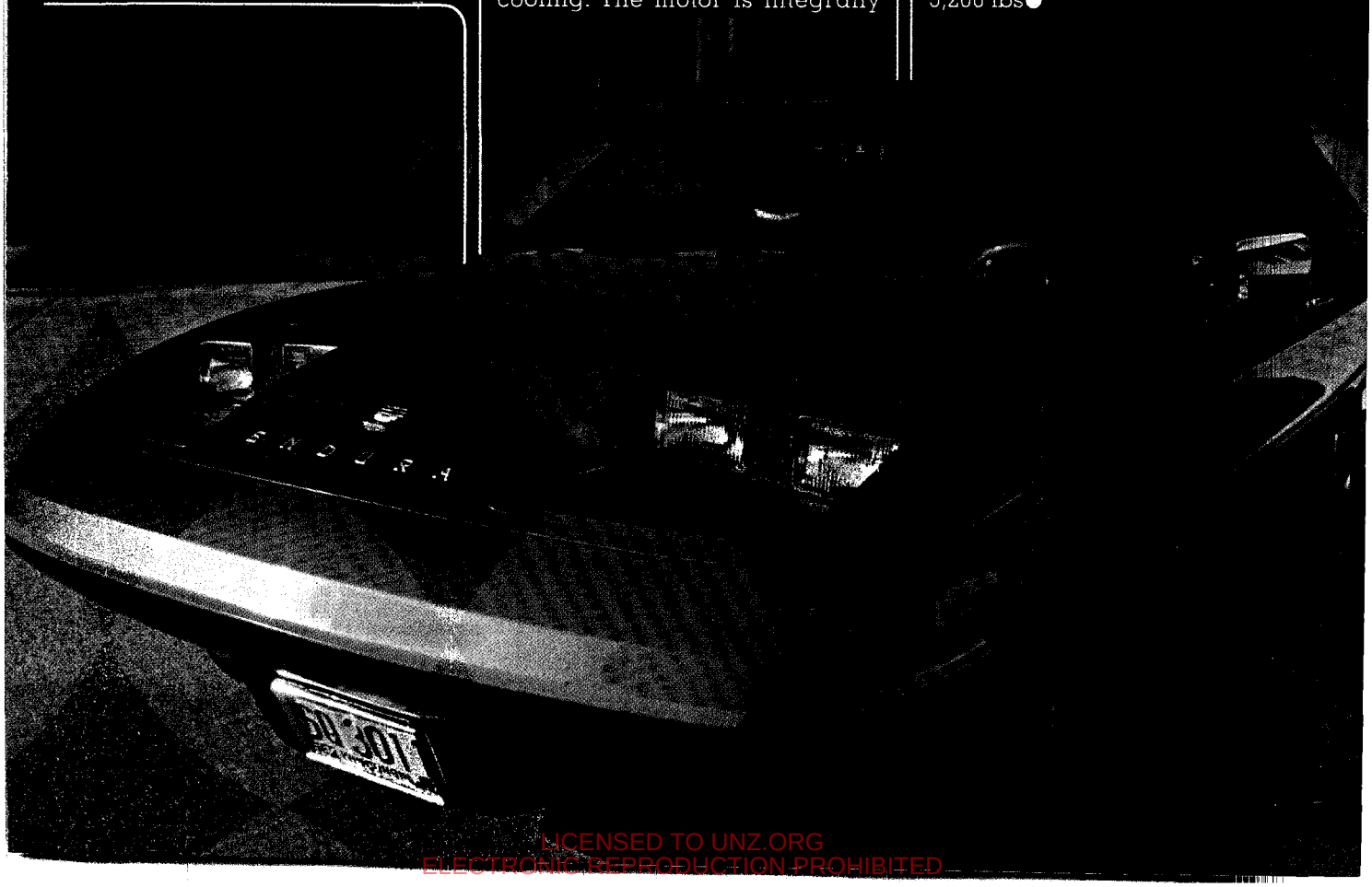
The Endura's power source consists of twenty 12-volt, lead-acid Globe-Union electric vehicle batteries mounted on an aluminum frame and roller sub-assembly tray, with access through the front bumper section.

The rear-wheel drive system is powered by a 20 horsepower, 120-volt series wound motor, 0-5000 rpm with 100 cfm forced air cooling. The motor is integrally mounted to a planetary transmission, transaxle and differential arrangement. Total gear ratio reduction 4.93:1.

The body is lightweight fiberglass with integral steel roll cage laminated to the interior for strength. A small spoiler on the undercarriage, plexiglass-covered rectangular headlights, recessed wipers and flush-mounted windshield reduce air flow resistance.

The frame is aluminum alloy for maximum weight savings and corrosion resistance. There is independent front and rear suspension.

Specifications: wheelbase, 108 inches; track front, 60 inches, rear, 58.8 inches; length, 184 inches; width, 72 inches; battery weight, 1,300 lbs; total weight, 3,200 lbs●



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# Copper Electric Town Car

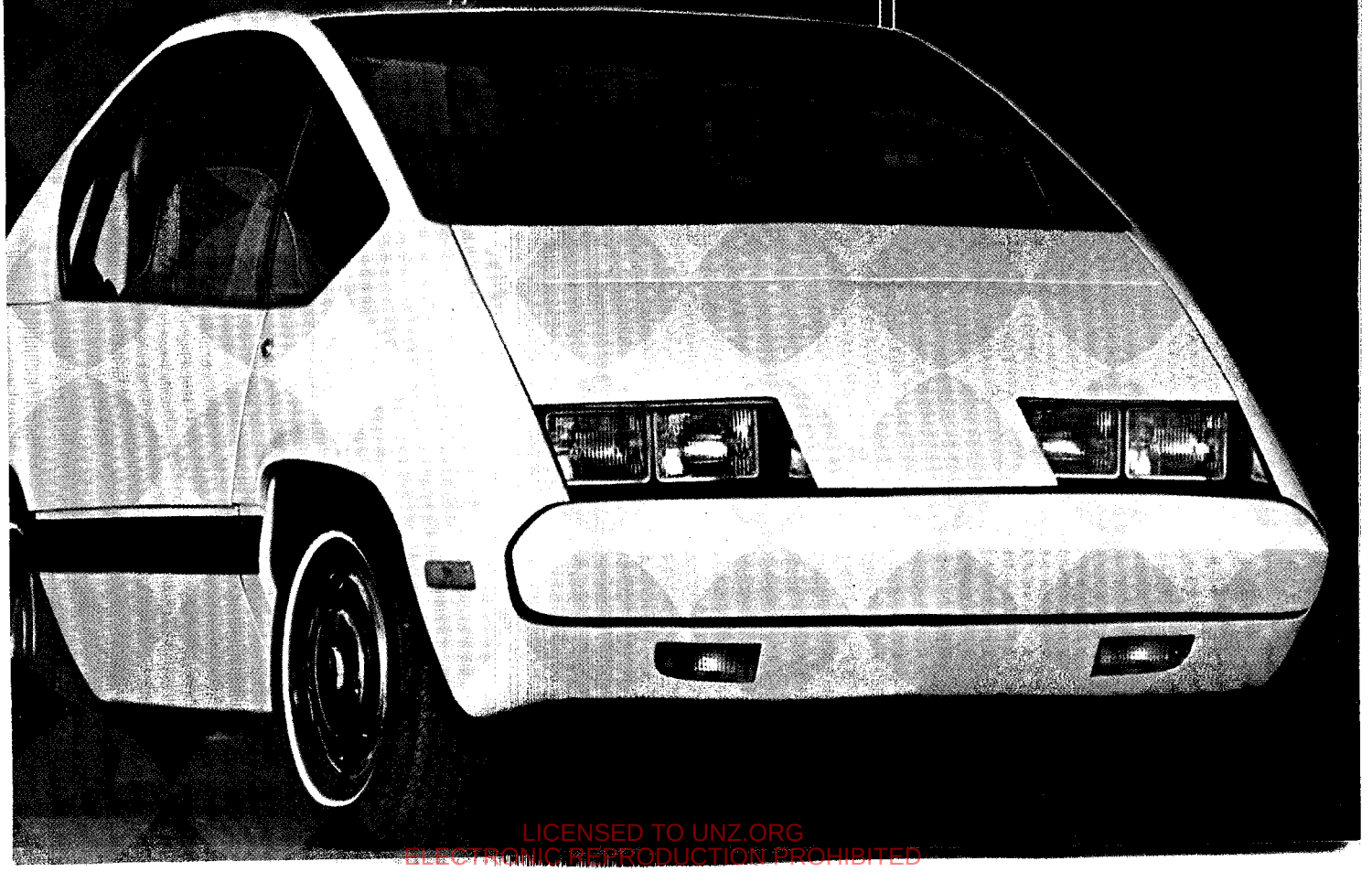
Copper Development
Association Inc.
405 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

**CDA,** the copper and brass industry's advanced market development arm, first introduced its Town Car in 1975. This current model, built by Triad Services to CDA specifications, is the fourth in a series of prototypes, with each representing a technological advance over the previous vehicle.

This advanced Town Car has a range of 120 miles at a cruising speed of 40 mph and a top speed in excess of 55 mph. The hatch-back two-seater weighs 2,972 lbs., including the approximately 1,200 lbs. of its 18 six-volt, lead-acid batteries. The unitized body is constructed of sheet steel external panels with welded box structures and other shapes for reinforcement in keeping with the design requirement that it be adaptable to mass production.

The Copper Electric Town Car has a front wheel drive system, utilizing a specially wound, separately excited electric motor with a matched field control system. It also features regenerative braking, which has resulted in improved range.

Because the doors swing outward far enough to clear the car's body, then travel rearward parallel to the body, easy entry and exiting is possible with just 11 inches of clearance available●



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# Test drives

AROUND THE WORLD, PILOT PROJECTS ARE ASSESSING ELECTRIC VEHICLES. HEREWITH, THREE EXAMPLES.

## 1. POST OFFICE DELIVERY VANS IN CALIFORNIA

by B. W. Burrows, W. J. Wysor and R. J. Hartman, Gould Inc., USA

The largest electric fleet operation in the U.S. today is that of the U.S. Postal Service. In 1975-76, 362 electric vans having a unique propulsion system were completed and delivered. The vehicles are now in service throughout the United States, with the greatest concentration in California. These electric vans, manufactured by AM General, utilize electric propulsion systems designed and manufactured by Gould specifically for the postal delivery type application. The system design stressed high efficiency, safety, cost effectiveness and satisfaction of the specified performance requirements. The key performance requirements in this specification were:

Range: 32 Km (20 miles) with 300 stop/starts

Top Speed: 53 Km/hr (33MPH)

Acceleration: 0 to 48Km/hr (30 miles/hr) in 20 seconds

Gradeability: 0 to 16Km/hr (10MPH) with 122 m (400 ft)

Battery Life: 4 years

The AM General electric van, designated the DJ5E, is a conversion of the standard gasoline-powered van supplied to the U.S Postal Service in large quantities. Suspension and brake modifications were made to accommodate the higher weight of the electric version. Final curb weight of the electric version was 1651 Kg (3,632 lbs.).

In selecting a propulsion system approach and designing the system, major attention was given to the following requirements:

- Efficiency—In order to minimize battery size and vehicle operating cost, the maximum propulsion system efficiency available with state-of-the-art components was sought.
- Performance—The vehicle must satisfy the specified acceleration, top speed, and gradeability requirements but should not significantly exceed these requirements if battery energy consumption is to be minimized.
- Safety—The vehicle must be safe to operate and always under the operator's control. Failures should shut down the system. Shock hazard must be eliminated.
- Maintainability and Serviceability—Easy serviceability was considered critical, with particular attention given to easy battery accessibility and serviceability.
- Life—Long service life is required for cost effective operation. The battery is the largest single contributor to operational cost, thus proper battery selection is important.
- Quiet, Smooth Operation—An electric vehicle is expected to be quiet and smooth, thus particular attention was given to this area.

An additional consideration was component availability on a short time schedule with a minimum of tooling. This latter requirement restricted consideration to DC motors, since AC motor controllers could not be available within the allowable time period. Also, only available production transmissions and final drives could be considered. The U.S. Postal specifications preclude the use of a manual transmission and clutch, thus further restricting the consideration to drive systems that were automatic in nature.

The system selected for this application was the direct-coupled, separately-excited DC motor with a thyristor chopper used for armature voltage and field voltage control. This system offered significant efficiency advantages in all cases plus cost and weight advantages in most cases.

The propulsion battery is the heart of any electric vehicle. The key battery characteristics considered for this application were:

- Life—The specification required a minimum life of four years.
- Energy Density—The battery must have sufficient energy available to allow the vehicle to meet the specified vehicle range of 20 miles with 300 stop/starts per the specified postal mission.
- Power Density—The battery's power output must be adequate to allow the vehicle to meet the acceleration requirements.
- Serviceability—The battery configuration should allow easy servicing, i.e., addition of water, cleaning, etc., when installed in the vehicle.

Of course, only lead-acid batteries were available in a practical sense. From the types available, the semi-industrial battery was chosen as the most cost-effective of those that allowed the vehicle performance requirements to be met.

The completed vehicle has been tested against the requirements of the U.S. Postal Service specification on three occasions. Representative achieved performance is:

Range: 45 Km (28 miles) with 300 stop/starts

From the paper: Semi-Industrial Batteries for Electric Vehicle Fleet Application.

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Cruise Speed: 53-64 Km/hr (33-40 MPH)

Acceleration: 0 to 48 Km/hr (30 MPH) in 20 seconds

Gradeability: 0 to 26 Km/hr (16 MPH) on a 10% grade

The vehicle exceeds by a significant margin all of the specification requirements except acceleration. It just met the acceleration requirements.

Driver acceptance of the vehicle has been generally good. The only consistent complaint among drivers has been the slow acceleration.

Fleet operation has not shown any major design deficiencies associated with the propulsion system drive train. Fleet uptime has stayed over 96 per cent with operation generally in the region of 98 per cent. This is most favorable, considering the newness of the propulsion system design and the very limited test time prior to entering the production phase. Field experience has demonstrated, however, that the problems associated with introducing significant quantities of a new electric vehicle into field use should not be minimized. Minor problems can become major if not remedied promptly. Minor defects become serious if they must be corrected in a large number of vehicles. This must be recognized in any new program and appropriate provisions made to correct expeditiously any problems or defects ●

# 2.

## A CAR FLEET IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

by N.S. Wrench and D.F. Porter, The Electricity Council, United Kingdom

The Electricity Council decided in 1966 to undertake a project with a fleet of electric cars to evaluate the capability of present technology and to quantify the extent of further development necessary. The car is the Enfield 8000, a two-seater saloon, powered by eight traction monobloc batteries and one auxiliary 12V battery. It has a 48V, 6 kW series wound motor, controlled in six stages by voltage switching (12, 24 and 48V) and field weakening at each voltage. There is no regenerative braking. The curb weight of the vehicle is 2,150 lbs (975 kg), and the construction is a steel square tube section chassis with aluminum body panels.

The vehicle is fitted with an on-board dual charger which independently recharges both the 48V and 12V batteries in 8 hours, using a domestic 240V, 13A single phase mains supply.

The maximum speed of the car is 40 mph (64 km/h), and the 0-30 mph (0-48 km/h) acceleration time is 12.5s. Vehicle driving range on a full battery charge is between 24 and 56 miles (39-90 km), depending on driving conditions. The Enfield car meets all current legislative requirements in the UK (no exemptions were sought), including the 30 mph (48 km/h) frontal barrier impact test.

A total of 66 vehicles are participating in a national project organized by the Electricity Council, and they have now been in service for periods of two to three years.

The total fleet mileage is 193,266 miles (310965 km) (April 1978), which corresponds to an average of only 2,928 miles per car. However, there is a wide diversity in the extent to which the cars have been used. There are a number of reasons for this diversity, mainly associated with the manner in which the project was originally organized. As a result, valuable lessons have been learned.

First, the decision to spread the fleet throughout 14 different Electricity Boards resulted in problems of project management and monitoring. On the other hand, in those areas where cars have been grouped in numbers of, say, four or five, it has been possible to develop local centers of expertise and ensure a regular maintenance program, with a resultant higher level of usage and enthusiasm on the part of the staff. The following conclusions can be drawn for those vehicles for which good repair maintenance records exist:

**1.** Unscheduled repairs, which were running at a fairly high level early in the project, have shown a marked fall, in line with the elimination of "teething troubles" with various components, principally the charger and controller.

**2.** By far the major item of routine maintenance is the topping up of batteries. The provision of a single point manifold topping up system is seen as an essential feature of future battery designs.

**3.** The normal automotive and body components of the vehicle have proved very reliable, with a very small servicing requirement, other than that arising from accident damage.

**4.** There have been no problems at all with the mechanical drive chain. The motor has proved 100% reliable, and no motor maintenance has yet been required.

**5.** The costs of servicing are dominated by the battery replacement cost. Indeed, battery depreciation is the major factor in vehicle running costs.

It is therefore of paramount importance to develop batteries that not only provide the required range and performance but also have a competitive cost per mile over their life. Having concluded the first phase of the project using SLI batteries, we have now embarked upon a major evaluation program of "lightweight" traction batteries as they become available from various parts of the world. The battery evaluation program is still at an early stage; we plan to expand both the number of types and the numbers of each type on trial in order to gain a comprehensive set of data under a variety of operating conditions.

The incidence of charger faults was high in the early stages of the project and was aggravated by poor quality control in the manufacture of the 48V mains transformer. This problem has now been cured by the substitution of good quality transformers, and these replacements are proving fully reliable.

We feel that there is very substantial scope for improvement in on-board vehicle charger design, particularly with a view to reduc-



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ing its size and weight. In this context, we are following closely the development of high frequency chargers and hope to evaluate this type of charger in the Enfield car during the next phase of the project.

The Enfield project has, over the last 2-3 years, provided us with very valuable information in two general areas: the organization of a major electric vehicle project and the technical aspects of an electric car that require further development.

There are valuable lessons to be learned in the first context, and it is to be hoped that others contemplating EV development and demonstration projects will take note of our experiences, particularly with regard to the way in which vehicles are geographically distributed. A regrouping of larger numbers of vehicles in a smaller number of locations is planned for the Enfield project, and we expect this to prove highly beneficial in terms of vehicle maintenance, project management and monitoring of results●

# 3.

## BUSES IN FRANCE

by M. Moneuse, Electricité de France, France

Electricité de France has been experimenting with electric buses since 1972, utilizing various bus models and operating projects in several different areas.

The most important demonstration of electric buses in France has taken place in Tours. These demonstrations were developed by the local authorities in liaison with the Directors of Electricité de France. They began two years ago in January, 1976, and ended two years later in January, 1978.

A town-center route was specially created for the tests. A run of about 4.5 miles in a figure-eight shape crossed the central area of the town, where little or no service was offered by existing bus lines. After a three-month trial period, the final route was established, with the following operational conditions: flat fare: 1 Fr., free for subscribers; stops at indicated points; possibility of additional stops upon request (both to get on or off); prolonged stop at the railroad station (the central point at the center of the figure eight); service every weekday afternoon; and service frequency fixed at 10 minutes.

This line was developed to contribute to the municipal efforts by ensuring a shuttle service between car parks and the town center. The large number of people who used this line attested to its usefulness, and it is still in service.

The tests were conducted over a period of 19 months (two full years with a 2½ month interruption each summer). Total mileage was 52,100 miles. Significant statistics include:

- Number of buses in use: 4, later 3 (3.6 on average)
- Average monthly mileage: 760 miles per bus
- Average daily run: 37 miles
- Average number of people per day: 450 passengers per bus
- Energy consumption from mains: 3.6 kWh per mile (charger efficiency 83 to 85%)
- Unavailability of vehicles: 12%. Actual unavailability was much less, taking into account the presence of two reserve buses during the first year.

The Tours experiment confirmed the following points:

- A maximum speed of 28 to 31 mph is sufficient for town-center service.
- Industrial lead-acid batteries are preferable to high performance batteries (they were changed at the beginning of 1977 when the buses were modified). Loss of range is largely offset by better battery reliability. Overheating is less (consequently losses), voltage more stable.
- Partial recharges are possible in Tours at the railroad station without disturbing the operational schedule.

Criticisms made by operating staff were on maintenance difficulties with mechanical parts (brakes, suspension, steering) where old or unadapted solutions were chosen, and on difficulties in dealing with batteries. Remarks do not bring into question electric traction, which was appreciated by both drivers and passengers, despite a certain amount of noise made by the vehicles at the end of the tests.

The Tours project and other experiments made by the Study and Research Administration of Electricité de France, involving over a million kilometers for light vehicles (1.2 tons) and 102,000 miles for buses, show essentially that lead-acid batteries of approximately 40 Wh/kg are short-lived, which is highly prejudicial to operational costs of vehicles. The amount entered under the heading "battery" is already 20 to 25% of the total cost in the most favorable circumstances, whereas that under "energy" is only 5%.

Future research should be directed towards looking for a compromise between the following three parameters: size of the battery, its energy-to-weight ratio and its cycle life—resulting in lowest possible operational costs.

The environment of a lead battery will also contribute to its proper utilization.

A centralized and very reliable waterfeed system and, for certain uses, a cooling system of batteries are necessary.

The state-of-charge indicator, apart from its useful psychological role, will make it possible to use batteries for operational purposes at an optimal discharge depth. In this respect the average discharge depth ensuring longest battery life (in miles) is not known. This knowledge would make it possible to lower operating costs. It should be noted that very few state-of-charge indicators for use on urban electric vehicles are available.

To resolve these problems, new experiments on vehicles are necessary. Utility vehicles and buses can be built with present technology to provide numerous services in towns. The French Public Administration is convinced of this and is undertaking work at present on vehicles better conceived than those previously tested●

From the paper: Evaluation of Experiments on Electric Vehicles at EDF up to a Million Kilometers.

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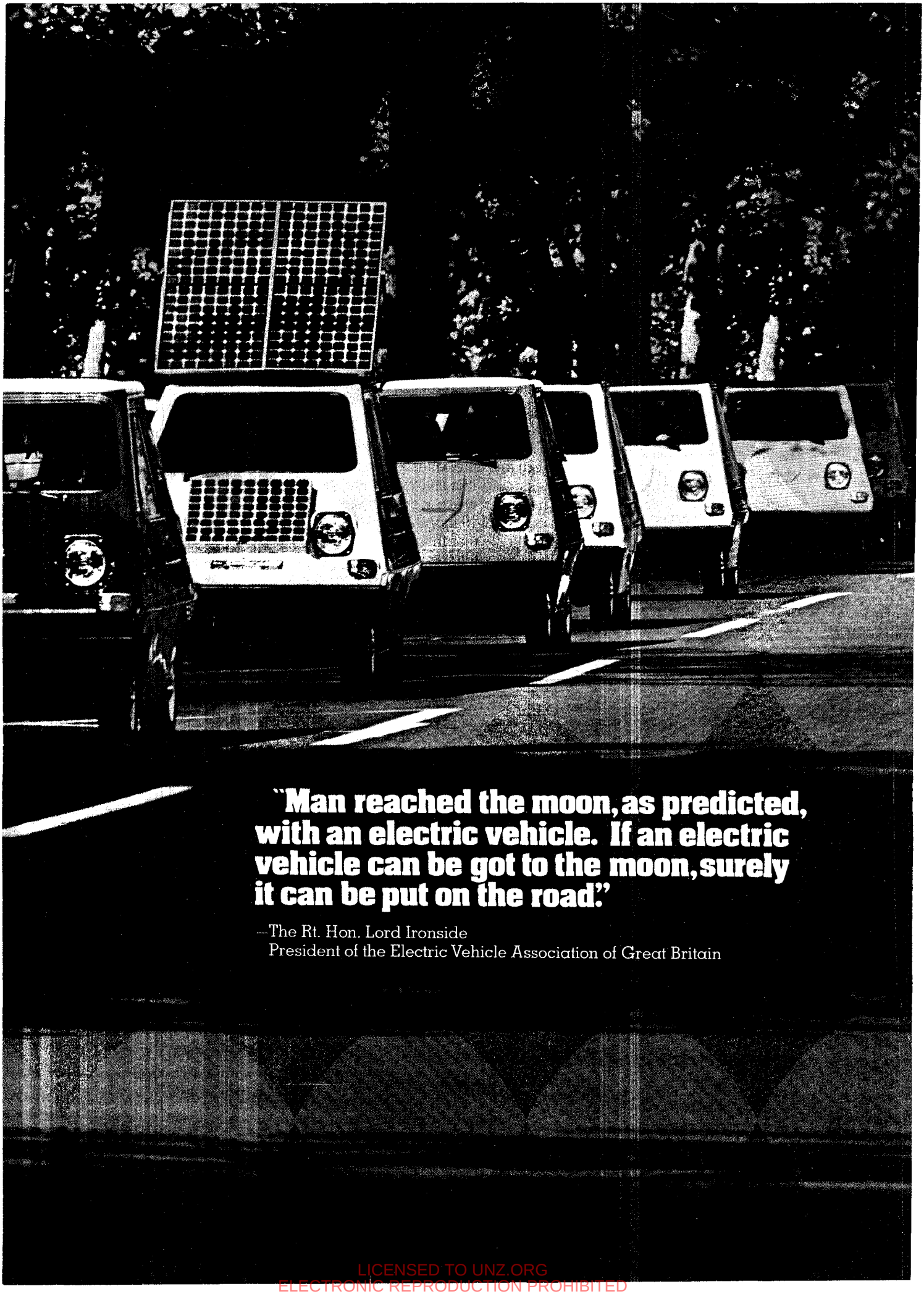

**"Man reached the moon, as predicted, with an electric vehicle. If an electric vehicle can be got to the moon, surely it can be put on the road."**

—The Rt. Hon. Lord Ironside
President of the Electric Vehicle Association of Great Britain

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computers to keep track of day-to-day changes, but neighborhood stores like mine have to have a system like this to try to keep abreast of things. Even so, I sometimes find myself selling an item for only 5 cents more than I paid for it because I've been so busy I haven't caught up with a price change."

He whipped open a drawer under his pharmacy counter. "Look at this," he said. "Here's a glass eye-drop bottle. Do you know what that bottle itself costs? Fifty cents. Take these empty capsules. When I was in pharmacy school—and that was only a few years ago—they cost just a few cents, and you didn't have to worry about them. Now these capsules alone cost 10 to 12 cents, depending on the size, and you have to figure that in with your costs."

A hardware man took me through his store, ticking off item after item that went up in price while celebrants were drinking in the new year. He showed me his Corning Ware price catalogues for 1978, good for a full year, and the new one that will only hold for the first half of 1979. Here are some comparative prices: a six-cup Pyrex coffee percolator jumped from $9.85 in the 1978 catalogue to $12.95 in 1979; the nine-cup job from $11.95 to $14.95. A six-cup teapot went from $8.95 to $11.95.

"Practically everything in the store went up the first of the year," this proprietor says. "General Electric increased the price of its light bulbs 10 percent across the board. All galvanized items went up 10 percent. Here's a 10-inch scrubbing brush with a handle. Last year it was $1.98; now it's $2.98. You name it. Almost everything you see here has gone up in price. Long envelopes were 29 cents a pack; now they're 39. Just let them show me where they're holding prices down to the 7 percent of the wage guidelines. Just let them show me. They can't do it."

The owner of a dry-cleaning store had his own tale of woe. He was talking about the cleaning fluid he uses and the thin plastic he drapes over newly cleaned clothes. "The price I'm paying for cleaning fluid went up $55 for 100 gallons in November," he said. "I was paying $180 for 100 gallons; now it costs me $235—and I'm told that the order I just got is the last at that price. I need two orders a month. That's $110 extra a month, and there's no way of getting around it. There are only three or four big suppliers—and they all set the same price.

"The plastic I use cost $5 a roll seven years ago; now it costs $15 to $16. I'm using up the last of my stock, and I don't know what the new price will be. Everything is going up. Take these coat hangers. They used to cost a fraction of a cent apiece, and you didn't worry about it if one dropped on the floor or got bent. Now they cost 4 cents apiece, and if I find one on the floor, I pick it up, clean it off and use it. And I've just been told the price on those, too, is going up.

"The trouble is, of course, that so much of what I use has a petroleum base. Just the same, my accountant was showing me something the other day. We used to clean and press a pair of pants for 75 cents; now we charge $1.50. And my accountant was showing me where I made more profit at 75 cents than I'm making now at $1.50.

"It's just crazy, and there's no end to it. Do you know that a salesman can't give me a firm price on an order? He doesn't dare quote me a price until he goes back and puts the order in because the price may have changed in the meantime. How can you do business this way? I wish they would put wage and price controls in. I lived with those once before, and it was better than this."

What I found in checking in my neighborhood has been reflected in at least one industry survey. The National Association of Purchasing Management announced in early March that purchasing agents throughout the nation had reported prices zooming in January and February. In January, 79 percent of purchasing agents reported they paid higher prices than they had the previous month—the largest percentage to make such a finding since mid-1974. And in February, 78 percent reported that prices were even higher than they had been in January. "There is much member comment on the rapid escalation of prices, particularly over the last two months," the N.A.P.M. summed up. The specific villains in the price spiral were most metals; fuels, especially industrial and diesel grades and gasoline; sugar; corn; paper and paper products; chemicals and plastics.

That is the picture. Street-level wisdom, backed up by such statistics, holds that all the jawboning in Washington about inflation is little more than a replay of Gerald Ford's much-ballyhooed WIN back in 1974. Remember all those WIN buttons?

The last three Gallup polls have shown that most Americans think wage-and-price controls offer the best chance of halting inflation. But what has happened in the first two months of the year shows that if the Carter Administration ever gets around to controls, it will be too late. Big industry has seen to that. The horse is already out of the barn and running so hard that all the President's men will never get him back in again. □

# Money Games

*(Continued From Front Cover)*

allies, and attempting to assert a new mastery of Europe by using economic power to enforce political domination. In the economically weaker nations, particularly Italy, an intensified game of class struggle is being played as labor rebels against permanent austerity.

In Asia, the Japanese push for a new co-prosperity sphere in competition with traditional rivals for control of the Pacific rim. Meanwhile, back in Switzerland, the long-running multilateral Tokyo round

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tariff talks, now in their sixth year, are as usual, about to break down, thanks in part to the peculiarities of the American political system in which the President does not necessarily speak for the Government.

The most prominent moves at the moment are the German economic offensive and the possible breakdown of the tariff talks in Geneva. Each in its own way dramatizes the tension in the world economy between the continued existence of national states and the growing importance of transnational capital. The tension between the two has set the terms for the current restructuring of the world economy.

"World trade," as Robert Strauss, the President's special representative for trade negotiations, tells us, "now exceeds $1 trillion per year. This staggering figure means that one-sixth of everything made, grown or mined is traded between nations." American agriculture is heavily dependent on exports (one acre in three is planted for foreign consumers), and one in seven manufacturing jobs in the United States depends on foreign markets. But now, after years of continued expansion, a crisis is brewing because trade growth has slowed down. Indebtedness continues to grow, however, and this fuels worldwide inflation.

Three-quarters of world trade is carried out in dollars, and most nations hold their international reserves in dollars. Relying on this near-universal dependence on the dollar, the United States has been able to pursue its own adventurous economic (and military) policies confident that its free-world allies, object as they might, can actually do little to interfere. All the capitalist nations want more international liquidity to promote increased trade. The European "new money" is thus an attempt to erect a counterbalance to the United States' use of the dollar to forward the exclusive interests of American business. For a decade the European central banks have been critical of the United States' unwillingness to limit the expansion of the world dollar supply. They complain that it is they who bear the costs of American irresponsibility. The United States has in effect told them to go to hell. And so, to protect themselves against the instability of the dollar, the Europeans have decided to go beyond swap agreements and other patch-up measures and, under German leadership, to establish a European monetary system. The resulting stability, they believe, will strengthen trade and investment among member states and move Europe closer to a single currency system and, ultimately, a unified political system. This "zone of European monetary stability," established to protect member states from the unstable dollar, is at the same time a threat to the dollar. It is also a threat to the weaker economies of Europe for it offers them help only at the price of accepting extreme austerity measures.

The negotiations over terms are fascinating. The United States, which controls the International Monetary Fund, is afraid that the European Monetary Fund will put a substantial crimp in its ability to impose its policies on everyone else. A successful (i.e., stable) European Currency Unit will mean that the dollar loses its reserve currency status and no longer is the unit of international trade contracts. No more will the United States be able to flood the world with unwanted dollars. (The European member-nations together have about four times the United States' international monetary reserves.)

The weaker capitalist nations of Europe are also bargaining energetically, mainly with the Germans, who demand rigid exchange rates and extract harsh terms, whatever the cost in austerity to these countries. Thus, Italy fought for and won the privilege of being allowed a 6 percent fluctuation band versus the 2.5 percent allowed other nations. This has become a central issue in the ongoing drama of Italy's crisis of governance; stabilizing the lira means deliberately lowering the living standard of Italian workers, with resultant unemployment and a dramatic increase in strike activity and political disenchantment among the rank and file. The official name for this policy in Italy is the Pandolfi Plan, after Finance Minister Filippo Pandolfi, who called for a variety of austerity measures: lower real wages, increases in productivity and decreases in Government spending. By whatever name, the new austerity is actually a political offensive by transnational capital. Britain refuses to join the European Monetary Fund because of its fears that membership would bring it further austerity and lose the election for Labor.

European capital will also seek out Spain, Portugal and Greece, despite fears that the entry of these "semi-developed" nations into an enlarged Common Market will put strains on the union. But the farsighted corporate planners understand that these countries will be more manipulable, their left-wing parties better contained, in a strong European political entity under German domination.

Europe is moving unevenly and uncertainly toward economic union, but the problems still to be overcome are monumental. Agricultural policy has drawn the most attention, largely because there are a lot of farmers, and a common agricultural policy is impossible to achieve so long as the European nations remain economically separate. Each nation sees this, and most economic issues, differently.

Moving beyond Europe, we find that stagnation in the world capitalist economy has increased the pressure to find new markets in the noncapitalist world. The major role Western technology is to play in China's new Ten-Year Plan has led the National Council for United States-China Trade to predict that China will buy more than $40 billion worth of Western technology by 1985. China appears to be undertaking its own remarkable turnabout from socialist self-reliance to acceptance of capitalist technology, and per-

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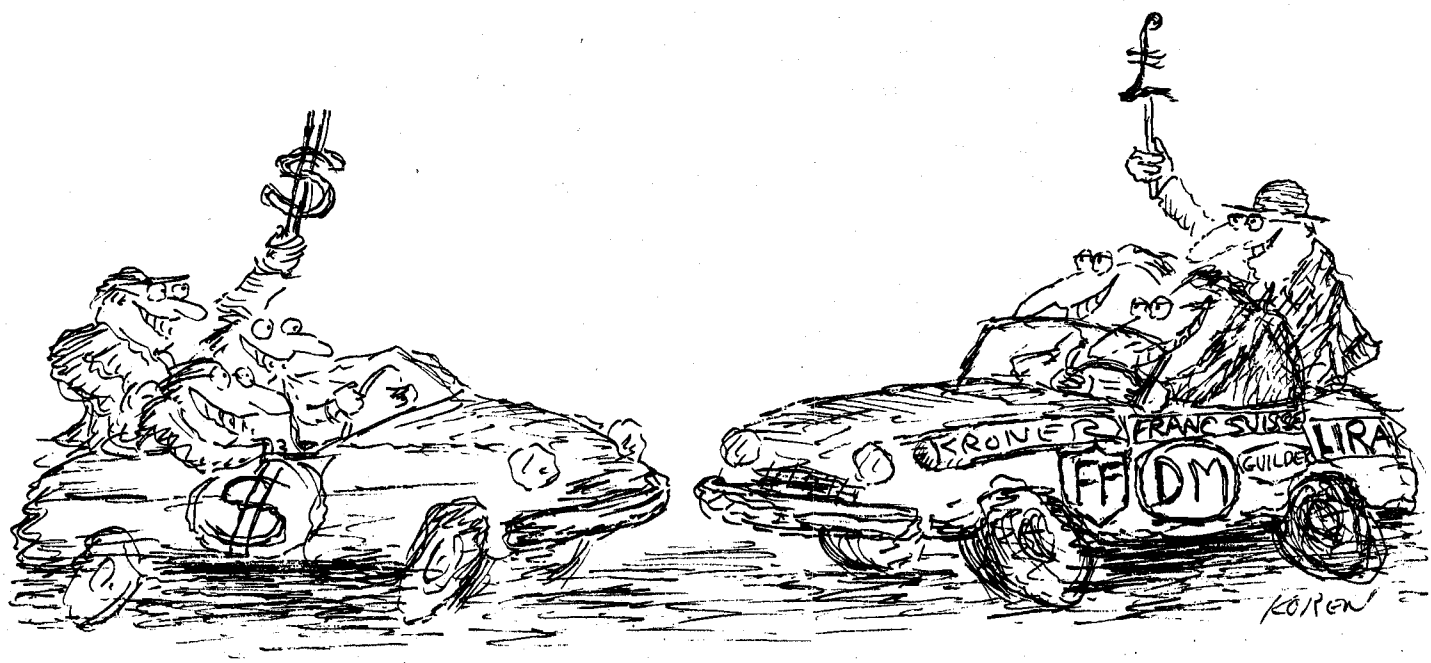
haps joint ventures involving capitalist know-how and Chinese cheap labor. Western trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is also expected to increase. The Communist Government in Poland, desperate for renewed Western loans, has allowed capitalist banks to monitor its economic policies. Its creditors set its budget policies after receiving comprehensive and intimate financial details.

All of the Soviet bloc nations have trade imbalances with the West and hard currency debts in the billions of dollars. Eastern Europe agonizes over its simultaneous desire for Western technology and inability to finance its purchases except by surrendering autonomy to the capitalists. Both Bulgaria and Poland are spending more than half of their hard currency earnings on debt service and repayment. Almost all of the Warsaw Pact nations are entering into joint-production agreements with capitalist firms to finance imports of technology, capital and consumer goods from the West.

All this, of course, is an old story in the so-called developing nations of the world. What is new is the rapid expansion of their manufacturing capabilities. In 1960, manufactured goods (including processed food) amounted to 13 percent of the foreign sales of non-OPEC developing countries. This proportion rose to 40 percent by 1977, and the World Bank thinks it will reach 55 percent by 1985. The statistics are tricky, however, and can be made to yield a kaleidoscope of impressions. For example, in 1975 only 1.2 percent of all manufactured goods consumed in the industrial nations came from developing nations. Yet in 1977 nearly half (47 percent) of American imports of finished consumer goods came from developing countries. In other words, exports of manufactured goods from the less developed countries are on the upswing and make up a significant proportion of the labor-intensive consumer goods purchased in most Western nations. But this export growth affects at most a dozen of the hundred or so less-developed nations, and in even the most successful of these, the economic miracles are accompanied by widening disparities in income among their people, plus a staggering foreign debt.

In most of the other nations of the world, American-based global corporations play a preponderant role in their domestic economies. In Britain, for example, Chrysler Corporation forced a huge subsidy out of the British Government as the price of continued operation. On the other hand, Ford, a very profitable concern, offered a 5 percent wage increase in 1978, well below the annual rate of inflation, piously asserting that it was only following the Government's guidelines. When workers walked out in a demand for a fairer share of Ford's ample resources, there was an immediate downswing in the British Labor Party's re-election prospects. Indeed, many middle-class and professional Britons vote Labor on the theory that Labor is better able to keep the unions in line and insure social peace than are the Tories. The multinational corporation's ability to demand subsidies and favorable tax treatment as the price of jobs, and its use of the state, and especially the left-wing parties, to discipline labor, has reduced national sovereignty to a shadow. The role of the state becomes one of enforcing the will of the multinational. When trade unions rebel, national producers have used their political muscle to demand and get protection from complacent Governments.

The central peace talks to avoid new trade and investment "wars" are now going on in Switzerland as part of the so-called Tokyo round of tariff and trade talks. There has been haggling over the price of everything from steel to TV sets, and the outcome of these negotiations will shape the world economy for the rest of the century. Adding urgency to the negotiations is the rampant rise of protectionism: $60 billion worth of

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trade each year is being subjected to new restrictions, and the growth rate for world trade has declined from the average 10 percent of the 1960s and early 1970s to a 4 to 5 percent range over the last two years. Each participant is caught between a feverish desire to export wherever it can and pressure from its domestic industries, their owners, managers and workers to protect them against "unfair" competition.

Nations are compelled to protect their backward industries because, in the absence of growth in other industry, the resulting unemployment and bankruptcies have multiplier effects that send tremors through the economy and have a devastating impact at election time. Robert Strauss must contend with Congressional opposition from all sorts of legislators who are feeling the heat from their districts (among them is New Jersey Democrat William Hughes, who is worried about the prospects of 200 employees of the Deer Park Baking Company in Hammonton—makers of butter cookies). Mr. Hughes is not alone. Dairy state farmers are following all of this very closely (Swiss cheese after all).

The Tokyo round negotiators are trying to harmonize seemingly irreconcilable interests in their quest to formulate a code of conduct that will cover all manner of nontariff barriers to trade, including subsidies and administrative regulations which impose arbitrary restrictions (often couched in terms of national safety or other seemingly neutral terms).

What the debate over free trade is really about, however, is the attempt by multinational corporations to restructure the world economy. The global corporations are creating a worldwide free-trade zone that would allow them to invest where they like and to trade everywhere without restriction. They are confident they can beat out all local competition. Most of the successful multinationals have been firms based in the United States. In 1976 American multinationals received two-thirds of the total profits of the world's fifty largest global corporations. Now, however, the total gross national product of the member countries of the European Economic Community equals the United States' gross national product. In many industrial sectors, Japanese and German firms, and other American trade rivals as well, are in a stronger competitive position than their American counterparts. With the worldwide overproduction in autos, steel, chemicals and petrochemicals, the danger of trade wars triggered by a desperation born of stagnation is very great.

At the beginning of this century, Lenin and Kautsky argued over the nature of imperialism. Was there a growing tendency toward a single world capitalist class as a result of all of the interpenetration across nations or, as Lenin thought, were imperialist wars between the major capitalist states inevitable? Perhaps they were both wrong and also both partly right. The tendency toward fewer and larger transnational units undercuts national autonomy. But, since ownership and control centers retain their identity and autonomy, trade wars can and do break out.

The European left clearly understands the role of American transnational corporations, and has a historic fear of a German drive to hegemonic unity. The problem is that protecting their weaker capitalistic economies is an unappealing mode of fighting back. The left continues to rely on trade-union militancy as a strategy to defend working-class living standards. But what they need is a program that goes beyond the terms of the free trade-protectionism debate—one that poses a democratic alternative to the dominance of capital.

In the absence of this socialist alternative the national games will go on—the trade wars between the major capitalist powers, the jockeying over tariffs and counter-tariffs, the subsidies to domestic producers and export bonuses. The dollar crisis will continue, along with the destabilizing movements by currency speculators. There will be new forms of money and new "baskets" to weight loan agreements. Whether the funny money can save the world financial system from collapse is an open question. Class struggle, a game that comes in and out of vogue, is back in style as the workers of the world increasingly recognize that they are being played off against one another to their mutual detriment. But they are only beginning to envision ways to unite. The more class-conscious Trilateral Commission folk hope to finesse the crisis.

Well, stay tuned, but remember: even though most of us stay home and watch these events unfold, they are really not spectator sports. There are people in motion out there and the relative privileges the United States has enjoyed in the post-World War II period are rapidly eroding. In these games there is no such thing as not playing. We are affected whether we view ourselves as taking part in them or not. □

**A Note From the Publisher**

A reception supper to honor our Nation Associates will take place on Monday, April 23, at 6 P.M. at Cooper Union College, 7th Street and Third Avenue, New York City.

This event is being held in conjunction with the Cooper Union Forum, which will present a salute to *The Nation* following the reception. The forum will be co-hosted by Hamilton Fish, publisher of *The Nation*, and Henry Alter, director of the Cooper Union Forum, and will include Victor Navasky, editor of *The Nation*, as well as distinguished contributors to the magazine.

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# BOOKS & THE ARTS.

## The New Music And the Old Ears

J.D. O'HARA

The best recent writing often escapes conventional reviewers for two reasons—it is new and it is not new. Newspaper critics are interested in contemporary literature, what is happening *now*, man. That's why they're conventional: anxious to distinguish what is with it from what is not, they apply the most fashionable rules to each contender. But a notion becomes fashionable only when it's been around long enough to be popularized and conventionalized, that is, reduced to rules and simplified. (Look at the gap between *Lolita* and Brooke Shields, *Ada* and last year's pop incest.) And, of course, any work of art evaluable by rules must be derivative; otherwise the rules wouldn't apply. Such rule-based work is produced by talent, and talent is displayed in mimicry. (When a *New York Times* reviewer praised *Gravity's Rainbow* as the best novel since *Ulysses* he used a recognizable formula for this: "Y is the best since X" means that Y mimics X.)

Well, what's wrong with that? Wouldn't we like another *Ulysses*, more Shakespearean plays, schools of Moby Dicks? Maybe. But talent mimics only what it can perceive and understand, while first-rate art is never so intelligible. The talented writer, therefore, produces only his own wax museum. His figures are intelligible, though, and the gratified critic, pleased that so many of his textbook criteria are relevant, is likely to respond with cries of joy.

But opposed to the talented writer is the writer of genius. Schopenhauer said that the genius sees the same world we do, but looks deeper into it and perceives what we have overlooked. It's a simple idea: we turn writers' names into adjectives and speak of certain qualities of life as Homeric or Miltonic because they *invented* these qualities, in the root sense of the word—they found them.

But these clichés stick in our throats when we turn to contemporary fiction. We'll accept being enlightened by the dead, perhaps, but not by that person we met at a party last week. Consider two remarkable writers, Ann Beattie and Donald Barthelme, who have just published collections of stories. One reputable critic reacted to Beattie's *Secrets and Surprises* (Random House) by heaping up possible connections: a free-association patient on an analyst's couch, soloists improvising on an unstated jazz melody, Kurt Schwitters's collages and the Surrealists (all of them, apparently). The result sounds impressive, if you know only a little about psychoanalysis, music, art and surrealism. But the critic betrayed himself before he even made his neat heap. He began his review by asserting, "Tired of the old descriptions of the world, Ann Beattie has evolved new ones."

Tired of imitating Ann Beattie, a writer of talent may begin to imitate Donald Barthelme, but the writer of genius—Beattie or Barthelme—has no such options. In an unguarded moment, Wordsworth once remarked that he could write like Shakespeare if he had a mind to. Informed of this, Charles Lamb remarked that it was clear, then, that only the mind was wanting. Geniuses must go on being themselves. But the critic mentioned above assumes that Beattie is merely talented, that she took the same courses in literary theory that he took, and that she is trying to make more of the old music. He ends in helpless incoherence, suggesting that the stories "might be said to have a pathos that arises out of all the things they refuse to engage."

What this might mean is suggested by the attempt to connect the stories with conventions. Some readers, we're told, regard the stories as "a welcome change from structured stories that they correctly regard as an imposition of the author's values." And the absence of closure, he suggests, "could open up a discussion of whether it is unreasonable to expect closure nowadays, or whether such stories are falling into the imitative fallacy."

Well, of course no good author can help imposing his values on the reader even if he wished not to, and no writer writes without structure or in order to "open up a discussion." But this sad critic has made our point: he has heard the new music with old ears, and wants George Crumb to be Ravel.

Barthelme's *Great Days* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux) also plays the new music (the title of one of his best stories), and to the same wrong audience. One member of it recently sought to categorize Barthelme without committing himself much: "a verbal wondermaker," he said; "this accomplished miniaturist." Looking for a source, he suggested that "Barthelme seems to be alluding to, as well as employing, the technique of startling cultural juxtapositions we associate with T.S. Eliot," and he added that old misreading that so irritated Eliot: "Eliot opposes the 'meaningful' past to the trivialized present."

When he turned to the writing, the critic predictably found that his terms didn't fit, and he blamed this on the author: "the so-called novels," he said; "the pieces (which I see no point in calling stories—even for convenience's sake)." As Beattie was said to be "tired of the old descriptions of the world," so Barthelme is said to have "for the most part denied himself the sustaining props of narrative fiction" as if he were free to write any kind of fiction that he might assign himself. For the rest, the reviewer matched the stories against irrelevant standards, found them wanting, and reported his own malaise as if it were an aesthetic judgment: "Barthelme is surely the most ephemeral of the gifted writers of our time. I suspect that others besides myself have difficulty in recalling his pieces from one collection to the next. . . ."

Julio Cortázar's interesting new novel, *A Manual for Manuel* (Pantheon), describes a left-wing nonterrorist group, mainly of South Americans, operating out of Paris; but essentially it explores the enormous difficulty of detaching oneself from the past—both personal and cultural—in order to throw in one's lot with the revolution wholeheartedly and singlemindedly. Cortázar ostensibly enters the novel as a character called only "the one I told you," but his sensibility is more recognizable in another man, Andrés, who tries to live in both worlds. He has both a conventional mistress and a revolutionary one; he is obsessed by bridges; he plays one side against the other, and he repeatedly confronts the new music, listening to Karlheinz Stockhausen's *Prozession*. Excited to hear a piano

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among the tamtams and electronic gear, he identifies Stockhausen with himself:

> A new man, yes: how far away you are, Karlheinz Stockhausen, most modern musicmaker mingling a nostalgic piano with full electronic iridescence; it's not a reproach, I'm telling it to you from my own self, from the easy chair of a fellow traveler. You've got the bridge problem too. . . .

But the problem is only Andrés's, not Stockhausen's, and he comes to no good end (Cortázar sees to that). We may, with some softening of the ideological rigor, take Andrés as a warning to our own critical sensibilities.

Indeed, this would seem to be one of Cortázar's points (overlooked by his reviewers). How a story is told is not separable from the story, just as how history is seen is not separable from that history. Cortázar's style reflects what most readers consider an avant-garde sensibility. But he deliberately uses it, as he uses Andrés, to suggest that reality is outrunning even our advanced literary models of it, and that we must discard much of our subjectivism, cultural complexity, and aesthetic sensibility in order perceive the new world. But of course he doesn't want to do this, not really. And in the ineffably simpler world of book reviewing and reading, neither do most of us. □

# The New Music

JAMES RAWLEY

GREAT DAYS. *By Donald Barthelme. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 172 pp. $7.95.*

Donald Barthelme's latest collection, *Great Days*, is about success. "Yes, success is everything," says one of his characters, or rather one of his half-embodied, half-unrealized voices. The voice goes on:

> Failure is more common. Most achieve a sort of middling thing, but fortunately one's situation is always blurred, you never know absolutely quite where you are. This allows, if not peace of mind, ongoing attention to other aspects of existence.

*James Rawley is a poet and critic whose work has appeared in* Commonweal, The Southern Review *and other journals.*

The paragraph illustrates Barthelme's much-praised ability to switch from style to style, from the professorial "absolutely quite" to the bureaucratic "ongoing attention," all within fifteen words, and all while holding things together with an unfaltering sense of rhythm. This is the kind of fingering people expect from a regular writer for *The New Yorker*, and Barthelme's surrealist intensity never distorts his civilized charm. Indeed, this charm serves as a reminder that surrealists, unlike some other members of the avant-garde, continue to respect the popular myth, the varnished surface and the ordinary human face, with or without skull peeping through the skin.

Only one story in *Great Days*, a riff called "The King of Jazz," has a sustained comic beat. It contains the most playful passages in the book:

> Yes, it was Fat Man Jones, and he began to play even before he was fully *in the door.*
> "What're we playing?"
> "'Billie's Bounce.'"
> "That's what I thought it was. What're we in?"
> "F."
> "That's what I thought we were in. Didn't you use to play with Maynard?"
> "Yeah, I was on that band for a while until I was in the hospital."
> "What for?"
> "I was tired."

"Tales of the Swedish Army" (a fine title) is an ethnic joke etherealized, and perhaps not etherealized enough:

> . . . they kept their SAAB jets in deep caves that had been dug in the mountains, so that if there was a war, nothing could happen to them.

The other pieces are flatly about failure and frustration: a young pregnant woman with artistic pretentions is refused membership in "The Conservatory"; the two nameless protagonists of "The Leap" put off finding faith to another day; in "The New Music," the clause, "Momma don't allow" is played with until Momma becomes the great mother and her whipped, aging Corybantes are "nothing to write home about," and so on.

The technique throughout gets away with calling attention to itself. The stories that are all in dialogue, like the ones in which almost every sentence ends with a question mark, succeed even when, as we are meant to do, we lose track of the characters and perceive nothing but verbal sparkles over a ground tone of lament. "Concerning the Bodyguard" is a horror story in notes of interrogation. "The Death of Edward Lear," a work of homage to an ancestor, ends with one of the most frightenin and elaborately prepared puns in mo ern literature, and gives a history seemed to lack to the theater of t absurd.

Yet even this, and the poignant tit story, are mellower achievements tha the author's previous works. Oedip suffering, the anguish of divorce-themes he has handled in the past wit startling power for so urbane a craft man—have now given way to a sharpl focused but distant look at age and los Horror and fun are both muted to me ancholy. An old man on a park bench i "Belief" says, "My pal the rabbi tol me. . . . *It is forbidden to grow old.*" A old woman replies, "It's good. . . . I coul do without the irony."

The mood recalls other *New Yorke* writers of the past: Thurber's ineffectu als, Benchley's occasional sorrow ove being no more than a feuilletonist, E.B White's controlled evocation of neurosi in "The Door." The world of literary surrealists is a small one, curiously curved in on itself, so that Barthelme's kinship with Borges, Buzzati or Cal vino seems at first stronger than any re lation he may have to other American authors. But just as Borges has his li brarian's bibliomania and love for met aphysics, just as Calvino echoes Ariosto and Buzzati collected and believed in Venetian ghost stories, so Barthelme preserves the diffident, whimsical, cultured tone that defined *The New Yorker* through so many decades. In fact, some of his works are less surreal than some of Perelman's, which they thoroughly resemble.

But Barthelme has liberated himself, for good or for ill, from mere funniness. Though his stories are often revue turns, and as much in need of a wow finish, the wow finish may not get a laugh, may succeed by plunging the reader into world-weariness and pain, as the last lines of *Great Days* do.

Blake said, "He who mocks the infant's faith/Shall be mocked in age and death." Nowadays it is we who, from childhood, mock our superheroes and the watered-down cultural values given us on television. We approach middle age with our own laughter ringing unpleasantly in our ears. Donald Barthelme, who has always seen something sad in our skits and parodies, has composed a set of serious burlesques as a tribute to the tragedy of life. It is a quiet achievement, a deliberately qualified success, and the most haunting book anyone ever chuckled over. □

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# Minor Savageries

MARY HOPE

YOUNG ADOLF. *By Beryl Bainbridge. George Braziller. 208 pp. $7.95.*

A friend of mine called up Beryl Bainbridge last year as she was finishing *Injury Time*. How was it going? "Oh, daring, just fine. I've just got this woman giving a dinner party for her lover, and his friend's cut his leg on the bike in the hall and the lover's got to get back to his wife by eleven, but they're being kept as hostages by some gunmen, but one of the gunmen is a man disguised as a woman. And her friend has been sick on the sofa, but she's thrown the Hoover into the garden and they're playing Ping-Pong in front of the window to show the police they're all right. So you see I've only got a few loose ends to tie up and then I'm finished." Feydeau couldn't have put it better.

Bainbridge is, in fact, the best writer of farce in England today: her hallmarks are great comic scenes, expertly plotted, outrageously scaffolded, ending in foreboding and irony. Following the superb comic set-piece in *The Bottle Factory Outing* (involving the mending of a lavatory, sexual disaster, and an abortive murder attempt), Freda tells Brenda, who is at sea as ever, "You need help . . . you're a victim . . . I've told you before." But it is really not Brenda who is to be the victim, of course. The *faux naïveté*, one of the distinguishing marks of Bainbridge's writing, hides consummate technical comic skill. Bainbridge has you crying with laughter while the blood freezes in your veins.

This close relationship between farce and horror often depends on extreme physical, as well as emotional, propinquity between the characters. Emotional and physical claustrophobia stifle Bainbridge's characters in much the same way that the lower-middle class, deeply English clichés they use constrict them. Her dialogue is always wildly funny, and she uses it most intricately to depict social anxiety and emotional turmoil or sterility. As in all great English writing, class discomfiture is used to pinpoint and give strength to the farcical situation.

So you might think that the visit of the young Hitler to England, a small episode, would be a gold mine for a writer of Bainbridge's talents. For those of us who cherish her particular mode, it is, I fear, something of a disappointment. There are only occasional touches of her pawky sparkle: "He's going back to Austria," says Alois, young Adolf's half-brother, at the end of the book. "Ah," says his sister-in-law, Irish Bridget, "And he's never even been to New Brighton."

For all its pertinacious and meticulous period detail, *Young Adolf* fails. Although as carefully plotted as any Bainbridge novel—to explain well-known characteristics such as brown shirts, Nazi salutes, falling locks of hair over the forehead and cropped mustache—there is a dead carefulness about the style which makes you pine for the energy of a narrower stage. In Bainbridge's previous novels, fear and loathing are inherent in the general fabric: the bosom of the family is the most dangerous place, where the home fires are kept burning in the breasts of your nearest and dearest principally to scorch and maim. In *Young Adolf*, Hitler is not a monster *within* the confines of the novel, and it is only the historical hindsight which gives the *frisson*. Bainbridge falls back on a narrative explicitness that she has previously not needed:

> No one, as far as he could remember, since he was sixteen years old, had needed or asked for his assistance. He had always been shy and introverted, more so after the death of his mother and the death of his hopes when they had deliberately barred him from the Art Academy. People hadn't often told him jokes or sent him postcards when they went on holiday.

Only in that last sentence do we get a taste of the old approach, and I, for one, was left gasping for more.

Bainbridge has set herself an interesting exercise, but exercise it remains. The sad fact is that if you didn't already know something about the young man in question, the book would be a bore. "Life itself is peculiar," as one of Binny's neighbors remarks to the police in *Injury Time*—and this is one of Bainbridge's main tenets. But, strangely enough, with all the power of an extraordinary imagination behind her, she has failed to arouse our interest in one of the all-time peculiar people (to set his charmlessness no lower than that) half as much as in almost any of her own compulsive characters.

But what's one failure? For all that's wrong with *Young Adolf*, Bainbridge remains the most genuinely shocking writer in England today. □

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# Secret Gardens

HARRIET HEYMAN

THE CEMENT GARDEN. *By Ian McEwan. Simon & Schuster. 153 pp. $8.95.*

BIRDY. *By William Wharton. Alfred A. Knopf. 310 pp. $8.95.*

*The Cement Garden* is about playing house. In this splendid first novel by Ian McEwan, four orphaned children are left to fend for themselves one sweltering summer in a ramshackle row house in a crumbling neighborhood in London. Decay is everywhere. Families are leaving. There are no parents, no rules—no school. The only sounds shattering this torpor come from bulldozers razing houses to make way for high-rises.

The children are survivors on a barren planet, and nothing except their play keeps them going. The narrator, 14-year-old Jack, feels he's in a dream but can't wrench himself free until the dream spends itself. This nightmare-as-novel is a seamless work, the writing plain, careful and shimmering with macabre imagining. The opening gives the flavor: "I did not kill my father. . . ," says Jack, and blandly describes how this may not be altogether true.

His father's single happiness had

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SUCH Sad TIDINGS
a novel by
ELISABETH PLESSEN
Translated by Ruth Hein
"A fine, moving novel" *(Publishers Weekly)* about the thwarted reaching-out between an alienated daughter and her aristocratic German father.
$9.95
THE VIKING PRESS

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been a patch of garden in which a flagstone path marched by stumpy marigolds and neat tulips. The garden is overripe with repression. While his father's garden does not grow, Jack masturbates continually. He considers the bare plot outside, the efflorescence of acne on his face and his sexual preoccupations. His father's health goes bad, and he decides one day to cement over the garden he can no longer tend. "It will be tidier," he says. As Jack masturbates upstairs, his father, in the midst of his labors, keels over in the soft concrete. Soon mother takes to bed. Her long dying enshrouds the family. Then the children are on their own.

They try on new roles. Julie, 16, takes charge of the household, and mothers her little brother, Tom. Jack marks time by masturbating, and studying his sister's flowering sexuality. Sue, 12, is the family chronicler. She notes everyone's behavior since the mother's death. Six-year-old Tom tries on girls' clothes, then regresses to infancy. The children undress, sunbathe, examine themselves, examine one another. Sexuality cracks the surface of the listless days like vegetation pushing through cracked concrete. The nightmare, feeding on its own ghoulish illogic, takes over.

Julie brings home a boyfriend. The outsider is curious about the family of four children and the shambles of a house. Julie taunts him sexually, and she and her siblings play blindman's buff with him about the circumstances of their aloneness. A sickly odor of cooking, unwashed adolescence and decay pervades the house. To Julie's dull "bloke" it is an indecipherable clue.

Like the bewildered boyfriend, the reader is drawn into the comic nightmare. The difference is that the boyfriend blunders about, mystified, while the reader knows what the kids are up to. They share a secret, and their overripe eroticism seems plausible enough, given that they have only one another, their horrible secret and days and days of nothing to do.

McEwan's little fable is a stunning work. If at the end of *The Cement Garden* there's a certain relief at being sprung from the nightmare, the reader nevertheless looks forward to reading something else by this talented young writer.

Another first novel about kids on a spree is *Birdy*, whose main character is a boy who thinks he's a canary. Birdy's dream of flying goes far beyond a need to get away from it all. He breeds birds. He chirps to them. He flaps his arms in emulation of them. He dreams of becoming one and raising his own brood. Mastering canaries and analyzing the elements of flight, he reinvents himself as a bird. And finally he dissects his obsession to a point where it flutters to earth and dies.

When the novel opens, Birdy is a shellshocked survivor of a Japanese attack during World War II. The war has ended, and Birdy has been put away in an Army insane asylum. He crouches in his cell like a perched bird. He is incommunicado. Al, his boyhood friend, has been summoned by the hospital psychiatrist to make Birdy snap to. Al has also had his share of troubles. Half of his face has been blown away in the war. While Birdy stares into middistance, Al recalls their boyhood games and struggles to make sense of their current states. The novel flashes back to their childhood, with Al and Birdy alternating as narrators.

The boys' close friendship is a kinship of opposites. Al is unreflective, an extrovert and an athlete; Birdy a recluse and an eccentric, who diets to skeletal thinness and practices flapping his "wing" muscles to prepare for flight. The boys have brutal adventures. On a bird-hunting mission, Birdy jumps from a tower to see if he can fly. Despite injury he's not sure he cannot. The boys crash through a frozen waterfall, and Birdy nearly drowns. They become dogcatchers, and to get rid of the animals they electrocute them and haul them off to a factory that grinds them into feed. Birdy fights back his nausea. The carnage, after all, pays for his aviary, his passion, so for a time it's worth it. Al tries to engage Birdy in ordinary pastimes. He fixes his pal up with a "fast" girl. Birdy nearly succumbs, but at the crucial moment fights off his date to save himself for his birds.

Birdy dreams of becoming a bird inside the aviary, who can watch his boyother outside the cage. He controls a long-running erotic dream in which he mates with a favorite canary. The boy recedes into the dream, then, inexplicably, stifles it. The aviary's magic disappears, the birds become just a noisy flock, and Birdy goes off to war. But grounded in *that* insane reality, the boy-soldier finds he'd rather be a bird—and cracks up.

At this point the novel slips into an unsatisfying *Cuckoo's Nest* conclusion about craziness being the only way to cope with a crazy world. When Birdy's obsession dies, the novel unfortunately thins out.

The considerable strength of this first novel lies in its crystalline descriptions of the bird rituals and behavio But it is curious that although we kno every hue and texture of Birdy's obse sion, we don't know why he is as he i Nor does the dual narration give u double insight. *Birdy* is a wonderfu tapestry of an obsession, and it is thi obsession, rather than the intermit tently sane boy, who is its protag nist.

# Short Fiction

## ALEXANDER STILLE

DO NOT WORRY ABOUT THI BEAR. *By Michael Rogers. Alfred A Knopf. 224 pp. $8.95.*

DESCENT OF MAN. *By T.C. Boyle Little, Brown & Company. 219 pp $9.95.*

THE ANARCHISTS' CONVENTION *By John Sayles. Little, Brown & Company. 309 pp. $9.95.*

I KNOW YOUR HEART MARCC POLO. *By Henry Bromell. Alfred A. Knopf. 144 pp. $7.95.*

After a few dazzling stories placed at the beginning of the collection, Michael Rogers's *Do Not Worry About the Bear* is disappointing. Trying to reveal "the insane dynamics of the times," Rogers falls back on the surrealistic techniques now conventional for modern life and its ills. These futuristic visions are one-idea stories which, even when lighted by irony, unfold predictably. Unlike Kafka's creations, which seem to have burst from him with compelling necessity, one feels that Rogers has shopped around for metaphors to fit "crazy times." Hysterical name-calling ("DDT. The nuclear fallout. The smog. The noise of the city. The cyclamates.") evades the difficulty of exploring the complexity of modern life.

Ironically, the best stories in the collection rely on that old standard: romantic interest. Rogers has a knack with troubled couples who are precariously held together by sex, drugs, possessions, convenience and accident. The title story masterfully shows a relationship collapsing after the lovers, feeling small in the landscape of all outdoors, see an enormous bear.

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In this group of romantic stories, seemingly insignificant events are nicely invested with power, but even here, there is a certain inappropriate detachment, the feeling of looking at, as Rogers puts it in "The Conservation of Loneliness," "perfect replicas of people, Homo Sapiens, c. 20th century, in Nat. Hab."

T.C. Boyle's *Descent of Man* is a collection with similar ambitions and problems—even more surrealistic, more preposterous and lighthearted. Significantly, an introductory quote from Kafka is followed by one from Tarzan ("Ungowa!"), and the absurdities that follow are literary monkey business. While Rogers's best stories can hit quite hard, Boyle's, even when describing events that would normally be horrifying, retain a comic touch that avoids pretentiousness but prevents us from taking them seriously.

His final story, "The Drowning," begins: "In this story someone will drown. Yet there will be no apparent reason for this drowning.... It will instead be like so many events of the future: inexplicable, incomprehensible." Many of the stories share this studied senselessness: a woman leaves her husband for the chimpanzee she is studying; Idi Amin stars at a Dada festival; blood rains from the sky on a stoned, bewildered hippie commune; an astronaut's wife and house mysteriously decay while he is exploring outer space. Such apocalyptic noises are frequently joined to farcical effects. "The Extinction Tales" records the elimination of various species. An Inventor (with capital "I") "running afoul the laws of nature," manages to photograph God dead, and is burnt alive by an angry crowd. In yet another story, a bored millionaire collector goes on a mad quest for ancient beer cans: "I have given my life over to an anal, exclusive and narcissistic activity, a paradigm of misplaced values." Boyle is better off when he is not trying to make a point, when he is simply having fun with his material, wandering among comic gestures and farcical moments.

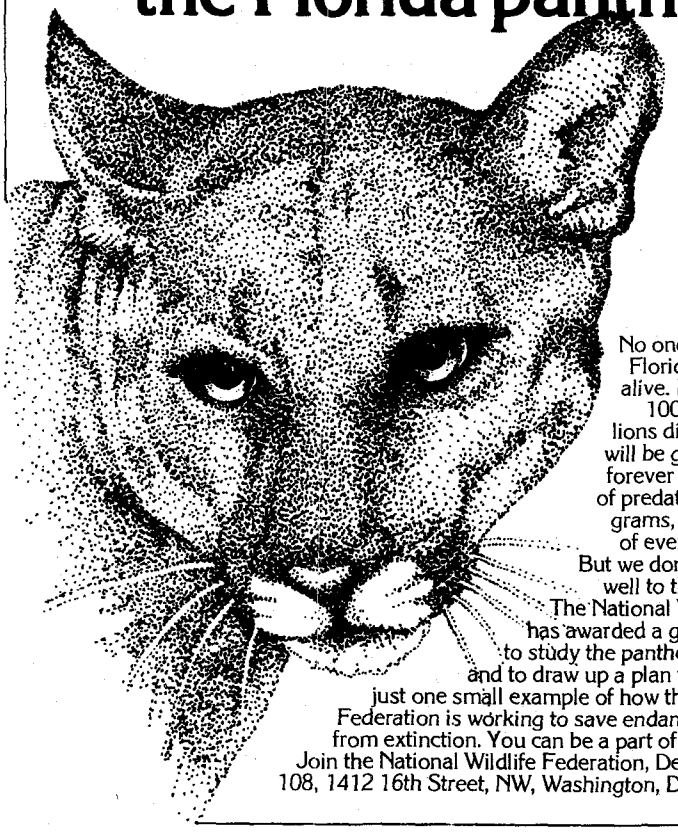
While John Sayles has already published two well-received novels, *The Pride of the Bimbos* and *Union Dues*, *The Anarchists' Convention* is his first collection of stories and contains material that predates the novels. These are the stories of a growing writer, which is to say that Sayles does not settle into one kind of storytelling.

The most striking thing about this collection is Sayles's mastery of several kinds of colloquial language. Often this language is drawn from the clichéd phrases of television, but Sayles uses it with a surprising richness of feeling and humor. His people talk to stay alive, to stay awake, to overcome loneliness, boredom and the fear of death. We have the joking of career girls, temporary secretaries doing menial tasks; the arguments of old Wobblies at "The Anarchists' Convention"; the clowning of illegal Mexican aliens in the kitchen where they work; the blarney of Irish-American men in their local bar; a divorcée conducting her personal life on the phone with her ex-husband, mother, psychiatrists and sister; drunks "burning daylight" on a bench; truckers talking into the night on the C.B. radio. Sayles has a good ear for the resourcefulness of people who make difficult situations tolerable by whistling in the dark, or making wisecracks.

Many of the characters seem caught between their desire for adventure and their need for community and home. There are homeless adventurers (the anarchists, the Mexican aliens, the bums), who are trying to regain some sense of family, and also trapped characters, who make do, get away, or lash out in self-destructiveness. In some stories, Sayles achieves the kind of apocalyptic power that Boyle and Rogers strain for. "Fission" gives a hilarious and chilling portrait of Ira Treat (I retreat), an ex-NASA engineer, living in a technological bomb shelter amid his visions of World War III; and in "I-80 Nebraska m. 490 m. 205," Ryder P. Moses infuriates and fascinates the other truckers by breaking all their rules, tooling along the highways at 90 m.p.h., pulling pranks, taunting and singing on the C.B. until he finally crashes. With the compelling extremities of Moses and Treat, Sayles borders his apocalyptic world of wild self-abandonment and fearful self-enclosure, of fire and ice.

"Within families beauties that perished elsewhere thrived and multiplied," concludes Sam Richardson, middle-aged diplomat, husband and father, in Henry Bromell's *I Know Your Heart Marco Polo*. The four stories in this collection shift in time, place and point of view as Sam moves in his diplomatic career from Virginia to Egypt and Iran. The characters are drawn to travel at the same time that they feel the continuing pull of family and the past. The seemingly discontinuous nar-


Farewell to the Florida panther.



No one knows how many Florida panthers are still alive. Perhaps fewer than 100. If these mountain lions die, another creature will be gone from the earth forever . . . the victim, first, of predator elimination programs, and more recently, of ever-shrinking habitat. But we don't have to bid farewell to the Florida panther. The National Wildlife Federation has awarded a grant to researchers to study the panther and its future . . . and to draw up a plan for saving it. That's just one small example of how the National Wildlife Federation is working to save endangered species from extinction. You can be a part of the effort. Join the National Wildlife Federation, Department 108, 1412 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036.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ratives are subtly tied together, and the book itself is about the hidden and often unrealized interrelations between family members, and between past and present.

In the second story, from which the book draws its title, Bromell enters the mind of each member of the family, tracing them through a summer afternoon and evening in Iran. While the family is reunited, their preoccupations diverge; the characters are not as separate or alone as they imagine themselves to be, nor are their secrets so secret. Bromell brings them and their emotional lives together at a party that evening. Through the juxtaposing of perspectives, we feel the richness, irony, humor and pathos of the event. These people, like the two sons in their game of Marco Polo, a kind of underwater blindman's buff, are terribly close: unaware of this closeness, they grope for one another, accidentally hurting and occasionally connecting.

Bromell attempts something writers like Rogers and Boyle have abandoned: the connections between people that absorbed Virginia Woolf in *Mrs. Dalloway*. All of the characters here feel the threat of isolation from others and from their pasts, of life narrowing into solipsism, of becoming, as one character puts it in a dark moment in the final story: "the single separate person trapped within the walls of her own skull, no way out, no way to hear another voice and not suspect it's your own." Nonetheless, both Bromell and his characters, aware of its impossibility, still try "to hear another voice."□

# Love's Ennui

AMY WILENTZ

JAKE'S THING. *By Kingsley Amis. The Viking Press. 288 pp. $10.*

THE PARDONER'S TALE. *By John Wain. Macmillan. 324 pp. $10.*

Getting it up and getting it: these seem to provide the meat, as it were, of an Englishman's life. Remember when there were continents to explore and an empire to police? Not so any longer—the once proud, once adventurous Englishman is spending much of his time at home these days, and British writers (the men, at least) are waging wars not of empire but of domesticity. The sun now sets with regularity on the British bedroom, and when the lights come up, it's not to scenes of wedded bliss. If your marriage can't sustain your vitality (what's left of it) and if you can't sustain your marriage, what better to do than piddle away the rest of your days in an unmarried embrace—or so these stories ask.

The answer: it isn't all that much fun, really. The hearth fires burn no longer bright, and neither Amis nor Wain finds much to recommend either love or sex. The sexual exploit is not as entertaining as the military exploit once was, apparently. Amis's hero, Jake Richardson, doesn't even like sex much, and for good reason: he doesn't enjoy the company, at close quarters, of women. And Wain's heroes find that although women (with the exception of one's wife) are endlessly fascinating, they always (with the exception of one's wife) let you down.

*Jake's Thing* is the story of Jake's attempt to make his marriage work. Although he and his wife, Brenda, get on famously as good friends, their connubial relations are passionless, at best. You've probably guessed what "Thing" refers to—and aside from that, it refers to "his thing," that is, Jake Richardson doing his thing, or not doing it. Poor Jake, a reader in Early Mediterranean History at Comyns College, Oxford, trying to regain his potency, is caught up in the supermarket of contemporary life. The novel is filled with encounter groups, free love, women's liberation, and such electronic contrivances as the "nocturnal mensurator," which measures the level of a man's arousal as he sleeps. Jake looks on with detached horror as these newfangled ideas take their toll of his lengthily acquired civility.

He goes about perking himself up with serious, scientific dedication, like a well-intentioned student studying for his A-Levels, but all the while you can see (and so can his wife, nothing escapes her attention) that his heart's just not in it. It would be hard, though, to say exactly what his heart *is* in. Jake has more or less given it up, given in. He doesn't like his career. Sex and romance are a chore to him, the younger generation a mystery. The core of *Jake's Thing* is wistful. But the story and the storytelling are funny, and that's the joy of the book.

The sexual excitation program that Jake's doctor, Proinsias (Celtic, pronounced "Francis") Rosenberg, prescribes for him is minutely outlined in wry Amis detail. Jake does fine with the nocturnal mensurator, but with those parts of the routine that occu his waking hours, he pretty much fai

> Tit—was not that what this magazine was. In one sense he was on very familiar territory, even if the familiarity was slightly dated; in another he'd never been here before. . . . It was all a matter of how you looked at it. . . . In itself it had an exotic appearance, like the inside of a giraffe's ear or a tropical fruit not much prized even by the locals. . . . In some of the accompanying pictorial pornographic material her hand was quite where it hadn't been on the cover and her mouth was open and her eyes shut. Right. Now that should have been just what the doctor ordered. Why wasn't it? What made it to a very small degree but unmistakably, off-putting. . . . By Gad, sir, he said to himself, country's going to the dogs, time and place for everything. . . .

Jake's erotic essay, part of Dr. Roser berg's prescription, includes thre girls, one with enormous, one with im mense, and one with gigantic, breast "for the sake of variety." Still, he i "seventy-three words short of the 60 minimum. . . . What about a black girl With Brobdingnagian breasts?" Jake' intellect and his sense of duty towar Dr. Rosenberg tend to get in the way o arousal. So does the housekeeper, Mrs Sharp, who has an uncanny sixth sens for the sexual moments in her employ er's life, and can always be relied upo to start polishing up the handle on th study door just as Jake begins to po'ish up his own handle, sitting at his study desk.

Some people, pointing to scenes like these, have conned themselves into thinking that *Jake's Thing* is misogynist. They are taking Jake Richardson at face value, and what's more, mistaking him for Amis. After some time on Dr. Rosenberg's exhausting sexual program, Jake has about had it with the ladies. When push comes to shove, and Comyns College's "writer in residence" questions Jake's allegiance to women's admissions, asking incredulously, "Look, are you trying to tell us . . . Is Mr. Richardson trying to tell us he believes that? About women being equal to men? Does he really believe it? . . . I mean, you know, like really *believe* it?" Jake responds thus: "Of course I don't believe it, you . . . ." He continues wildly, ". . . there will be girls everywhere . . . women everywhere, chattering, gossiping, telling you

> what they did today and what their daughter did yesterday and what their friend did last week and what somebody they heard about did last

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month and horrified if a chap brings up a *topic* or an *argument*. They don't mean what they say, they don't use language for discourse but for extending their personality, they take all disagreement as opposition, yes, they do, even the brightest of them. . . . So let's pass a motion suggesting they bugger off back to . . . wherever they began, and stay there. It won't make any bloody difference but at least we'll have told 'em what we think of 'em.

Is this so far off base? Isn't this, in act, what many men think of women, ithout hating them? (And, most imortantly, isn't it well put? I like hearng from Henry Higgins again.)

The last paragraph of the novel, hich contains the dénouement, is nother polemic on women—a wellhought-out blast, less of an emotional utburst. Still, it ends with the mitigatng disclaimer: "all according to him." .e., according to Jake, *not* according to Amis. This novel is not misogynist. It is ather one of the few contemporary ovels by a man which even for a moent thinks seriously about womankind, instead of shoving women around o serve the ends of the protagonist. It is Jake's age (he's over 60) that allows for his thoughtfulness. He has more time o consider, and less ability to bring about, the successful mating of man with woman.

But the road back to sexual "health" is finally too long and weary a one for Jake to travel. The modern idea that sexual fulfillment equals human fulfillment is foreign to him, and, like all well-bred Englishmen, he resists change and abhors the unknown and uncharted. *Jake's Thing* is an expression of outrage at, and defeat at the hands of, modernity, whose graceless intrusion on one's privacy is embodied in Dr. Rosenberg's constantly repeated question, "I take it you've no objection to exposing your genitals in public?"

John Wain's *The Pardoner's Tale*, like *Jake's Thing*, worries the subject of relations between the sexes. Wain's novel, though, is much more romantic, much (much) less funny than Amis's. It is a novel within a novel: Wain's hero is Giles Hermitage, novelist, and Giles's hero is Gus Howkins, press-cutter by trade and self-styled knight in shining armor. (Note the similarity of initials—why not J.W. for complexity's sake, I wonder.) The two stories are told in alternating chapters, and the whole device, though occasionally illuminating, makes one think that instead of two complete stories, Wain has given us only half of each.

This is a book about love affairs coming apart at the seams, marriages gone flat, star-crossed romance. Giles has been left by his girlfriend of seven years, Harriet, for a man who beats her, it turns out, and whom she leaves in the end. Gus and his wife, Daphne, are bored to tears with each other; when, out of boredom, she briefly takes a lover, he uses her peccadillo as a means of escaping the stifling marriage. As in *Jake's Thing*, marriage is the problem toughest to parse. Gus and Daphne have lost their desire for each other, yes, but not quite their love. In the end, he can still say of his wife (who continues in vain to try to mend the marriage) "I felt afresh her power over me—for she had power to call me to her side."

While marriage is the problem, passionate affairs give the novel its plot. Both Giles and Gus, shaken up by the loss of marital or quasi-marital stability, fall straight into the arms of younger women who pull the romantic rug even further out from under their feet. Diana and Julia, both gifted sensualists, are full of the traditional mystery that men (Jake Richardson excepted) have always sought in women. The difficulty here, though, is that their feminine mystique is not only potent but completely illogical. Why should Julia, who seems to have found both sexual and spiritual satisfaction with Gus, go back to her self-indulgent, whoremongering husband? Why should Diana, who has found the same happiness with Giles, suddenly up and dump him for some character we haven't even encountered previously in the novel? Ah, women. You just can't ever figure them out. It is this attitude, which purports to be that of the sensitive, understanding male, that is misogynist. Give me celibate Jake any day. Jake thinks about the women he doesn't sleep with; Gus and Giles sleep with women they can't think about.

Wain's only point seems to be that men leave women, and women leave men—and it hurts. Their behavior has something to do with sex: need for it, dissatisfaction with it—but that's about as far as Wain gets, and we're still in the dark. As are Giles and Gus. Giles goes back to his old girlfriend, and Gus, brokenhearted, believes his life is over, more or less, and awaits death:

> Now I knew there was nothing left but age, the slow dying-out of impulse, the cooling of the warm blood in my veins till it became thin, cold soup, pumping wearily round and round my body just because it had nowhere else to go, waiting for release and the end of pain.

It's funny that for Jake Richardson, who is twenty years older than Gus, a decision to avoid sex is self- and life-affirming; when Julia leaves Gus, and he has no sexual prospect on the horizon, death seems to be the only alternative. Then again, Gus was in love, and so we sympathize with his depressive self-pity. Or we are supposed to.

*The Pardoner's Tale* is at least a well-intentioned book, meant to unravel the mystery and manners of love. It fails in this regard as countless others have failed. *Jake's Thing*, with its comic intentions, says more, and more deeply, about the important issues. This is due not only to the greater wit and depth of Amis's thought on country matters but to his knowledge of and control over the surroundings of his characters. There is so little true atmosphere in Wain's book that his characters, who are sporadically well drawn, also seem shadowy and displaced. Jake may profess befuddlement in the face of youth and the new order, but Amis understands; both Wain and his heroes, caught in some morass that pretends to be life (and *may* be life in England, for all we

SONG OF THE SKY

*Adapted from "The Tsimshian: Their Arts and Music," by Marius Barbeau.*

I will sing the song of the sky.
It is the song of the tired:

the owl flying down in slow circles,
the salmon faltering in the swift

current. I walk where the water
sweeps into whirlpools. They

talk quickly, as if in a hurry.
The sky is turning over. They call me.

Brian Swann

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know), are completely at a loss. A novel that is hopeful in spite of the evidence it presents for despair deserves greater respect than a novel which despairs because life in London's suburbs is dull and the possibilities for love are limited. Were these reason enough for despair, we'd all go home and watch the embers fade, and there would be no new novels. □

# DANCE

## NANCY GOLDNER

Some people said they would have been content merely to gaze at Bakst's scenery while listening to Debussy. For a long time I have been content to probe the many superb photographs of Nijinsky's ballet. The intent and beauty of *Afternoon of a Faun* is so artfully contrived it can undergo severe extraction and still make sense. Looking at the backdrop, one can see the music cascading down rocky cliffs, its paths sometimes lulled and sometimes quickened by secret recesses, unexpected crevices. The photographs inform us of the ballet's radical use of the body—the flat configurations; unnatural alignments of hand to wrist and knee to thigh; the turned-in, hence introverted limbs.

From the photographs it is clear that Nijinsky imitated antique sculpture so as to propose a new language of movement. One fathoms a potent interplay between mimicry and pastiche; one can see in the faun and nymphs a delicacy of expression that is far more ambiguous than their models. It is not necessary to see *Afternoon of a Faun* to know that it is a masterpiece of choreography and a prime example of Diaghilev-inspired collaboration. Its pivotal role in the development of dance content and syntax Lincoln Kirstein has fully established; his description of it in *Nijinsky Dancing* is so full of portent that one approaches the real artifact with nearly as much trepidation as joy.

So one gathers oneself to a Broadway theater to see the Joffrey Ballet and Rudolf Nureyev pay homage to Diaghilev: *Parade* and Nureyev in Nijinsky's roles in *Petrouchka*, *Specter of the Rose* and *Afternoon of a Faun*. The beauty of *Faun* is so immediately there, the question of Nijinsky's choreographic genius so transparently manifest that when the faun tosses his head back in sheer delight at the touch and smell of a nymph's scarf, he's also expressing what it's like to handle this ballet in the flesh.

Much of the pleasure derives from its confirmation of qualities half cautiously intuited, half wildly imagined. Yes, its stark Egyptian profile is as startling to the senses as it is interesting to the mind. The effect of dancers moving laterally across the stage as though in fixed grooves is as oddly lovely as one had anticipated. And the celebrated love scene between faun and scarf, which closes the ballet, still strikes me as daring. The scene's inevitability, however, becomes apparent only upon seeing the ballet. What no words and pictures had quite prepared me for was the icy perfection of Nijinsky's conception. The watery shimmer of Debussy finds a countervoice in Nijinsky's bedrock certainty of geometrical line. Were *Afternoon of a Faun* to be studied second by second, my guess is that every gesture and every grouping would be echoed in every other one.

*Faun* is a model of what is called organic unity. Living tissue is transformed into line and texture with a dexterity and conviction so absolute as to render the faun and nymphs nonhuman and ahistorical. While Debussy and Bakst evoke all that is transient, Nijinsky evokes the piercing timelessness of a desert landscape. The austerity of his abstractions accounts for the trembling poignancy of details, such as the delicate way fingers interlock and heels pivot. They nourish the eye as an oasis might. The leader of the nymphs, frightened by the power of the faun's taut, flattened arms pressing down upon her, drops a scarf as she flees. The scarf's malleable line makes it an oasis of specially exotic charm, but it is no more or no less an abstraction than the nymph who carried it. The faun's love for it simply extends into another medium the love that Nijinsky as choreographer has shown for the line of bodies. Sexual union between faun and scarf is also a union between the choreography's granite mathematics and the music's diaphanous qualities.

Just why that union between dance and music should be so touching gets to the most remarkable aspect of *Faun*. Although much has been written about the counterpoint between Debussy and Nijinsky and the revolutionary concept of dancing against the grains of rhythm and general atmosphere, no words could prepare one for the feelings of muted tension rising out of the contrast. It is precisely because kinetic and musical impulses scrape against each other that *Faun* is haunted by impenetrable power. In the context of Debussy, the dance feels not introverted as the photographs suggest, but repressed, in dangerous proximity to fire. In the final moments the moth leaps into the fire. For all the obvious sexual release conveyed by the faun's body, it's the harmony between music and gesture that rings loudest in one's eyes.

In 1912 it must have seemed the height of irony for the greatest virtuoso of the day to cast himself in what is basically a series of queer walks. Nureyev's gallumph through the airborne *Specter of the Rose*, which preceded *Faun* by a year in Nijinsky's career and by an intermission in the Joffrey-Nureyev program, precluded the audience's enjoyment of such heady irony. Yet Nureyev's devotional submission to *Afternoon of a Faun*'s self-effacing spirit and impersonal language precluded any thoughts about what it must have been like to see Nijinsky's faun. Nureyev gave clear access to a past cloaked in myth, while Rouben Ter-Arutunian's recomposition of the Bakst decor permitted us a bold and loving look at the fabled Diaghilevian investiture. The nymphs, a bit heavy-footed, sometimes resembled a conga line, but there was always the scenery and music to set one back on the right track. □

# ART

## LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Margit Rowell's "The Planar Dimension: Europe 1912-1932" (Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, until May 6) is purposeful and enlightening in a way that is rare among exhibitions of modern art which are so often constricted or distorted by box-office requirements. There is no overreliance on a single source as in the Metropolitan Museum's "Monet: The Years at Giverney": here the sources are as diverse as the distribution of objects requires (Amsterdam, London, Tel Aviv). Hence the marvelous opportunity to see together seven Picasso reliefs, six Henri Laurens constructions, six Archipenkos and five Lipchitzes from the heroic early period of modern art. Nor is the exhibition a simple homage to an acknowledged master, such as the earlier Mark Rothko show at the museum which, like all retrospectives, rested on a ready-made assumption of the artist's greatness. Rowell, to the contrary, is engaged in original study of a complex relationship.

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The exhibition, which covers twenty ears, begins with great exactitude by resenting a handful of works by one rtist and fans out speculatively to a ontinental scale. The starting point is 'icasso's relief sculpture (1912-14) of till-life objects. In *Origins of Modern 'culpture*, Albert Elsen stressed "the eliefs' momentous importance in artisic thought," and William Rubin in *Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art* called them "a point of departure for a veritable second history of he medium." Rowell works toward this iew history in her closely argued text :oncerning "the possibilities of Picasso's :onstruction."

The technique of construction as it involves using separate elements, with each piece retaining its identity as a plane, is unlike carving or modeling. The principle of visible structure, as it might be called, has usually been linked to the object-status of art, its materiality but Rowell approaches it differently. She relates the planar dimension to the contested zone between painting and sculpture: "While none of these works may be defined as strictly two-dimensional, all are constituted of two-dimensional components or planes." She points out that "the planar dimension is the painter's dimension" because of the necessary flatness of the canvas or wall that carries the painter's images. Picasso in his relief-constructions, however, "detached the two-dimensional surface from the wall and installed it, as surface, in front of the wall," incorporating the plane within the work of art. Thus Rowell proposes an aesthetic connected to painting in place of the usual stress on sculptural concreteness.

Picasso's works lead directly to the constructions of the other Cubists, to aspects of Futurism and to Russian Constructivism. Seeing all this work together demonstrates the connections between them, but Rowell is scrupulous in characterizing personal variables, such as Laurens's sculpturesque rotundity compared to Picasso's lean parallel planes.

Russian Constructivism of this period is elusive, so many works made of expendable materials having perished in the passage of time. However, owing to the uniformity of parts, it is often possible to replicate constructions, provided photographs and accurate measurements survive. It was the reconstruction of Vladimir Tatlin's model of a "Monument to the Third International" at the Moderna Museet, Stockholm, ten years ago, that legitimized the practice. A dozen of the Russian pieces in the show are reconstructions, done either for or by the artist, as in Naum Gabo's case, or posthumously, as in Tatlin's. The concepts and innovations of Constructivism are demonstrated clearly despite the absence of the artist's touch. In fact, more models of work after the extraordinary Tatlin would have been desirable.

Suddenly, panorama replaces close-up, as the scope of the show dilates to include a cross section of later European art against which Rowell tests her "reinterpretation of the picture plane." At times the concreteness of the materials resists planar continuities and one has the traditional sense of sculpture as an object, but Rowell's formulation is broadly useful. She locates pictorial traces in Jean Arp's reliefs, with their flat overlapping slices of color; in Calder's mobiles which are, as she says, divided by inferred picture planes; and in Kurt Schwitters, with his highly developed sense of boundary giving planar unity to his diverse materials and objects.

In the text, Rowell mentions another aspect of planarity which also stems from Picasso, but this time from the iron sculpture he made with Julio Gonzalez in 1930 and 1931. It was professionalized by David Smith and bequeathed to current abstract sculpture where it appears in the work of Anthony Caro, for one. By an emphatic use of the load-bearing properties of metal, such sculpture asserts the specificity of sculpture and the superiority of three dimensions over two. The relief sculpture that Rowell is concerned with, planar, polychrome and mixed media, is the work of artists who consult both sculpture and painting. Implicit in their work is an alternative to the reductive view of aesthetics that leads to "pure" sculpture, "pure" poetry. Hence the complex, inventive, sometimes garrulous eloquence of the show as a whole. □

**Coming Soon**

In an essay entitled "Ayn Rand Meets Hiawatha," renowned scholar of the Sioux, Raymond DeMallie, explores the spurious ethnography of Ruth Beebe Hill's best-selling novel about the Lakota Indians (the Teton Sioux), *Hanta Yo.*

# INDIGENOUS MUSIC

NAT HENTOFF

A group of musicians—and lay folk—were talking about Charles Mingus at Atlantic Records' studio near Lincoln Center on a rainy Sunday night in early March. That seemed to be the best place for a memorial, rather than a church or a concert hall. This way, his friends could walk around, drink, swap stories and keep saying that it would be a long time before they could really think of him in the past tense. Mingus had died in January of a heart attack in what would otherwise have been the last stage of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. For months, he had been in a wheelchair, having increasing difficulty even in speaking; but until the very end, Mingus was singing compositions into a tape recorder so they could be transcribed.

Physically huge, Mingus—Sy Johnson was saying—had been "a frightening musician." Johnson had occasionally played piano and arranged for him. "He expected you to surpass yourself all the time," Johnson was smiling in admiration of Mingus's force. "He had no patience with catch phrases, and he'd yell at you if you fell into one. Charles gave you *muscle*. The more he pushed you, the better musician you became."

There was music. Sonny Rollins, unaccompanied, started playing at the back of the studio and then, up front, spun hot and lyrical variations on a theme he had just composed for Charles. Bassist Red Mitchell, still shivering with pleasure at Rollins's music, started "Body and Soul," because Mingus used that tune to test the ingenuity of bass players. Red was never more ingenious, giving back to Mingus some of what he had learned from him.

Mingus loved the cello. So human a sound. Indeed, his bass often sounded that deep and glowing. So, in what is usually an antiseptic studio, two cellos sang "Motherless Child," the fervent, spearing lines intersecting and growing on each other. One cellist, Kermit Moore, had been regarded by Mingus as even better than Janos Starker, whom Mingus much admired. But Moore is the wrong color to compete in Starker's world. The other, David Baker, is on sabbatical from Indiana University where he has built a jazz department so strong that it's unassailable by academic opponents of this low-down music. Mingus liked survivors.

A careful, angular young woman sang one of the pieces she and Mingus had collaborated on for a forthcoming album that will probably bring his es-

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tate more royalties than nearly all the rest of his sets combined. Joni Mitchell, legitimately self-possessed because she too has earned her singularity, didn't quite fit, however. "She's from a whole other place," someone said. But Mitchell was genuinely fond of Mingus and so she, if not her lyrics, belonged anyway.

One of the brief speeches was by Steve Schlesinger of the Guggenheim Foundation, which had awarded Mingus two grants for composition—at a time when the bread couldn't have been more useful. "He brought honor on us," said Schlesinger, "not the other way around." Nor would Schlesinger pay any mind to the venerable distinction between jazz and "serious" music: "His was one of the most significant achievements in all of 20th-century music."

Later in the evening, Mingus's own humorous and defiant voice was heard through the tape machine: "I want to write serious music that comes out of *all* the musics."

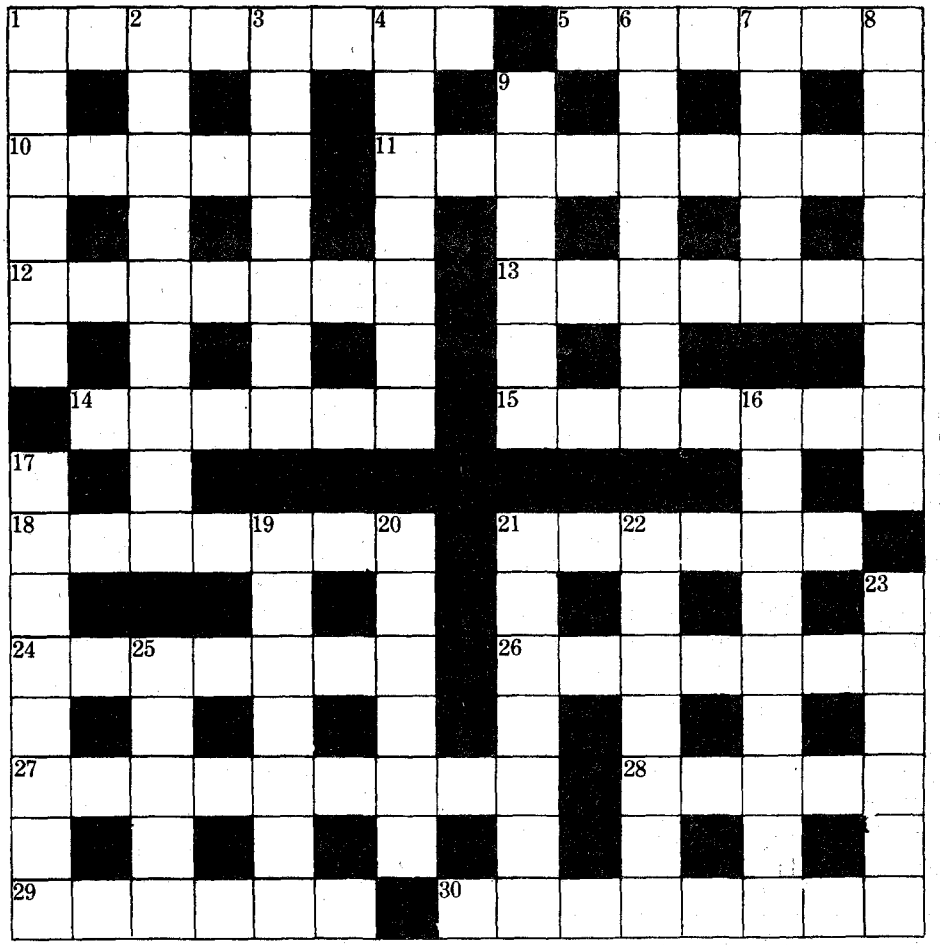
And as we listened to Mingus speak, Sy Johnson shook his head and said, "That vitality and intensity are irretrievable. Other people will bring other qualities to his music, but the fire, the electricity, will be left with Charles."

Yet an attempt is being made to keep the spirit of Mingus alive in a band. His wife, Susan Graham, just about as resilient as Charles was, has already formed a group composed almost entirely of Mingus alumni. Dannie Richmond, Charles's indispensable conflagration of a drummer, will be on hand, along with bassist Charlie Haden and pianist Roland Hanna. The horns will consist of trumpeter Ted Curson and the ceaselessly inventive trombonist, Jimmy Knepper, who used to score many of Mingus's works. Alternating in the reed section will be John Handy, George Adams and Charles McPherson. The repertory, of course, will be all Mingus, and there's even more of it than the collected recorded works would indicate. "We're finding," says Susan Graham, "a lot of things that were not recorded."

The Mingus progeny already have dates lined up into the summer, including a number of the European festivals. Even those of us who don't believe in ghosts expect somehow that one will be traveling with this band, roaring from the back of the stand, "Respect the melody! Play in tune!" and suddenly smashing a fist on the piano to show the degrees of energy lacking in the performance. And these bearers of the Mingus tradition had better go to good restaurants, too. □

# Crossword Puzzle No. 1768

FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 and 5 Evidently one's entrances and exits are expedited so. (4,4,4,2)
10 Sometimes bars are empty except for them. (One relaxes this way.) (5)
11 Not the first or second unit price—no wonder it's not considered tops. (5-4)
12 What I have in a red pattern, with furs. (7)
13 In the design, it erodes the thing that lights. (7)
14 One has to get by the quarterback, usually. (6)
15 Deep-set form, kept in water. (7)
18 Certainly not skinside-inside—where one might take cover. (4-3)
21 One might take the watch to be so. (2,4)
24 Smart surroundings for an article one cuts (or possibly sticks). (7)
26 In a way, I hand up the title. (One might be king, some day.) (7)
27 Used to be unmentionable. (9)
28 Cow-catcher, possibly. (5)
29 It returned and passed on what might be made trim. (6)
30 Case pointing out how some golfers set their feet. (8)

## DOWN

1 and 23 One has to work for it. (6,6)
2 and 9 Ruskin wasn't referring to the opening word with such as Langtry. (6,3,6)
3 Tires, partly, with what sausages are sometimes served in. (7)
4 He's a killer in the ring! (It's rather dull being on a rocky road!) (7)
6 Priscilla's friend and Mr. Lawrence show how some people like pasta. (2,5)
7 Rising because of it, perhaps, but as yet unsteady. (5)
8 Saddle-sore if one does? (Don't pay attention to other arguments.) (8)
9 See 2 down
16 No out-shoot if one does, and helps out. (7,2)
17 See 21 down
19 Nativity ode? That's one side! (7)
20 Bird country. (6)
21 and 17 What the basketball referee has to keep, or the judge. (5,2,3,5)
22 When in doubt, the French should provide a couple. (7)
23 See 1 down
25 8 down, without dire trouble. (5)

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1767

ACROSS: 1 Bare possibility; 9 Coursed; 10 Caribou; 11 Glacis; 12 Ablative; 14 Openhearth; 15 Ogle; 17 Nice; 19 Hierarchic; 22 Maniacal; 23 Parson; 25 Swahili; 26 Trainee; 27 Carrying the ball. DOWN: 1 Background music; 2 Roulade; 3 Pastiche; 4 Side; 5 Incubators; 6 Inroad; 7 Imbuing; 8 You never can tell; 13 Sanitation; 16 Breakage; 18 Centaur; 20 Hosanna; 21 Easily; 24 Stet.

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